

JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES

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The Journal of Social Forces

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The Search After Values

In presenting "Robert E. Lee: An Interpretation," by *Woodrow Wilson*, in this number, *The JOURNAL* not only offers one of the most distinctive of Mr. Wilson's papers but adds the most notable of its contributions to those phases of its program relating to leadership and biography, regional contributions to national life, southern pioneers in social interpretation, and to high standards of expression. Special acknowledgment is made for the generous permission given by Mrs. Wilson to publish the manuscript both in *The JOURNAL* and in a little memorial volume now being brought out by the University of North Carolina Press.

CHARACTERISTIC TIMELINESS

Mr. Wilson's utterances in this paper are remarkably characteristic in many ways; and especially timely. One is tempted to point out, in the case of an almost dozen passages, the timeliness and appropriateness of the clear-cut delineations of character—accurate portrayals shot through with imaginative idealism held fast by the passing years. But two or three references will suffice. Although prepared while Mr. Wilson was still president of Princeton University, the last passage in this paper is a remarkably accurate description of himself as the later leader of the nation and of his last call for America to "lead the way" for all nations. In much the same way his discussion of the principles of national service and big business might very well appear as applying to the present Tea Pot tempest at Washington. Another passage might seem to be uttered especially for the present need of men who are willing to serve the nation more than party and partisan policies. And for those who continue to study Lee, this message will remain a priceless contribution.

THE INFLUENCE OF SECTION

In his foreword to this lecture (given at the University of North Carolina, January 19, 1909)¹ Mr. Wilson said: "It is all very well to talk of

detachment of view, and of the effort to be national in spirit and in purpose, but a boy never gets over his boyhood, and never can change those subtle influences which have become a part of him, that were bred in him when he was a child. So I am obliged to say, again and again, that the only place in the country, the only place in the world, where nothing has to be explained to me is the South. Sometimes, after long periods of absence, I forget how natural it is to be in the South, and then the moment I come, and see old friends again, and discover a country full of reminiscences which connect me with my parents, and with all the old memories, I know again the region to which I naturally belong."

CO-OPERATIVE TOLERANCE

Before turning from Mr. Wilson's interpretation to a discussion of other features of *The JOURNAL* two other items should be mentioned. The first is that it seems especially fitting to substitute in this issue for the usual editorial notes Professor Hamilton's memorial note on Woodrow Wilson. The second thought is suggested by our present discussion of "The Mill Village Complex" and the wish that all those who are so inclined to misinterpret facts and discussions, and from whom we might reasonably expect assistance and tolerance in the search after real values, would inculcate the spirit of Mr. Wilson's words. But it is not only in this particular matter, but in all others, that the ability and willingness to interpret facts in their perspective is desired. *The JOURNAL*, it should be remembered, is not a journal of "public opinion." It is a journal of study and interpretation. In so far as an honest student of social affairs pursues an investigation within the limits of good method his results are suitable material for publication. *The JOURNAL* is not responsible for the interpretations other people place upon facts, nor for any particular interpretation of an author. There can be no adequate search after truth and values without the search after all truth; and no first class periodical can afford to be afraid of any truth that

¹ Reproduced from the University Record, May, 1909.

shall make us free; but this does not mean that it can become a propagandist for personal opinions and hypotheses not based on scientific or fact premises.

SPECIAL SERIES

The JOURNAL continues to announce, among its other special features, outstanding series of articles that become, the moment published, permanent contributions. Some of the series to come are:

Franklin H. Giddings: *The Scientific Study of Society.*

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Harry Elmer Barnes: *Vital Contributions to History.*

Robert D. W. Connor: *Southern Pioneers in Social Interpretation.*

Benjamin B. Kendrick: *Restatement of the Causes of the Civil War.*

Besides a continuing and varied series in the several departments, and always, as in this number, some new and unannounced features that will prove worth while.

THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES

The JOURNAL program and circulation grow gradually apace. But not enough. Some friends write us doubting, in substance, the ability of *The JOURNAL* to keep the standard now being maintained. The answer to any such doubts may be easily found. In the almost limitless opportunity of such a journal. In the distinctive contributions being provided. In the tremendous amount of good material not now being published—and much that we can not include. In the large number of potential students and writers of the younger group whose ability and research results need to be discovered. In the scores of tasks and topics that have not even been touched—or even suggested—yet which await days and years of strenuous, albeit happy, prospecting for the student, the teacher, the publicist. If only we had scope, ability, resources, time to produce all that seemingly *must* be achieved here and now! After all, however, this is the problem: to strike the happy medium between what can be done and what ought to be done, meantime maintaining continuity of effort the sum total of which years hence will count.

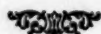
EXPERIMENTAL PROMOTION

Some friends write us also that the circulation of *The JOURNAL* is not large enough to measure up to the quality of its contributions. And this is

true. The reply to this is found in our gradual efforts to increase the circulation and our limited experimentation with different methods. All efforts are succeeding; and they are not succeeding. That is, the measure is still not enough. If we could hold the record of two days last week—one with 35 subscribers new and one with twelve, there would soon be no complaint on this score. One friend writes that *The JOURNAL* is the best thing which comes to his desk—and forthwith presents to friends as Christmas presents a year's subscription to *another JOURNAL*! Another writes that it is a marvel and then subscribes for another forsooth because he wants a *national* journal! Whether is *The JOURNAL* provincial or the friend?—this happened with both southern and northern critic. But altogether the whole business of being well received is the most gratifying thing that has come across our paths of peace in many a day.

One thing announced in the early numbers will need continuous pushing and boosting. That is the effort to increase the reading process and habit as it relates to social literature. We do not expect to stop until both our constituency and the publishers find *The JOURNAL* a comprehensive and effective medium. And this reminds us that whatever advertising we are doing has in mind not solely the little financial return but also the completing of *The JOURNAL* program. We know the reputation an academic journal has with advertisers. Our's for the present is perhaps little different. But it can be made different through coöperation and growth. One professor ordered thirty copies of a volume first advertised in *The JOURNAL* but he never mentioned *The JOURNAL*. He might have done so. Here again we are making observation and setting down notations that may be of value in our whole program of social study and interpretation. That is, again, any effort put forth will carry its own weight in the whole program. Nevertheless, we should much prefer that the reading constituency of *The JOURNAL* become sufficiently large and distinctively such a reading group that both rewards would be forthcoming. No reader would suffer, for instance, from reading Allport's new *Social Psychology* advertised in this number; and so for the Harvard books, and the Chicago books and *The American Journal*, and *The Survey*, and the others.

Harvard Publications



The Quarterly Journal of Economics

Published in November, February, May, and August; edited by members of the Department of Economics in Harvard University. Contents for November, 1923: The United States Steel Corporation and Price Stabilization, *Abraham Berglund*; The Future of Railway Control, *R. F. McWilliams*; The Theory of International Values Re-Examined, *Frank D. Graham*; The Life and Work of Max Weber, *Carl Diehl*; The Collapse of Bank-Deposit Guaranty in Oklahoma and Its Position in Other States, *Thornton Cooke*; Reviews; Notes and Memoranda. Price, \$1.35 a copy; \$5.00 a year.

Monetary Theory Before Adam Smith, by *Arthur E. Monroe*

The first survey of the field in English, and the only adequate one in any language. It is purposely a history of theories rather than of theorists or of their times. Two sections, one on ancient and the other on mediaeval monetary theory, introduce the more extended surveys of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. In each of these the discussion centers around such topics as the functions and origin of money, the qualities desirable in money, problems of the standard, and the coinage system. \$3.00.

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Harvard Memories, by *Charles W. Eliot*

In these three chapters President Eliot talks with delightful intimacy of the persons and scenes he has moved among during his long lifetime at Harvard University. Presidents Quincy, Walker, and Hill; Judge Joseph Story; Professors Asa Gray, Louis Agassiz, and Francis Bowen—are among those recalled with shrewd characterization and humorous anecdote; and the older college buildings, some of them now gone or considerably altered, are discussed. There are thirty-two illustrations, practically all from rare originals in the possession of the University. \$2.00.

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ROBERT E. LEE: AN INTERPRETATION

WOODROW WILSON

IN ONE SENSE, it is a superfluous thing to speak of General Lee,—he does not need the eulogy of any man. His fame is not enhanced, his memory is not lifted to any new place of distinction by any man's words of praise, for he is secure of his place. It is not necessary to recount his achievements; they are in the memory not only of every soldier, but of every lover of high and gifted men who likes to see achievements which proceed from character, to see those things done which are not done with the selfish purpose of self-aggrandizement, but in order to serve a country, and prove worthy of a cause. These are the things which make the name of this great man prominent not only, but in some regards unapproachable in the history of our country.

I happened the other day to open a book not printed in this part of the country, the *Century Cyclopaedia of Names*, and to turn to the name of Lee, and I was very much interested, and I must say a little touched, by the simple characterization it gave of the man: "A celebrated American general in the Confederate service." How perfectly that sums the thing up,—a celebrated American general, a national character who won his chief celebrity in the service of a section of the country, but who was not sectionalized by the service, is recognized now as a national hero; who was not rendered the less great because he bent his energies towards a purpose which many men conceived not to be national in its end.

I think this speaks something for the healing process of time. I think it says something for the age, that it should have taken so short a time for the whole nation to see the true measure of this man, and it takes me back to my own feeling about one's necessary connection with the region in which he was born.

There is an interesting and homely story of Daniel Webster, how after one very tedious and laborious session of the Senate he returned to his home in Boston quite worn out and told his servant that he was going up stairs to lie down, and must not be disturbed on any account. He had hardly reached his room when some gentlemen from the little village in New Hampshire which had been his original boyhood home, called at the door and said they must see him,—that a man's life was involved. They had come down as the neighbors of a lad in his old home, charged, as they believed falsely with murder. They believed in the lad but were confounded by circumstantial evidence; and they thought that there was only one man in the United States who could unravel the tangle of misleading indications; and they had come to see Mr. Webster. The servant was afraid to call him but yielded to their urgency, and he came down in no pleasant humor. To all their appeals he replied, "Gentlemen, it is impossible; I am worn out. I am not fit for the service, and cannot go." Seeing at last that it was probably hopeless, the spokesman of the little company at last rose and said "Well, I don't know what the neighbors will say." "Oh! well," said Webster, "if it is the neighbors, I will go!" There came to his mind the vision of some little groups of old men

in that village where he had lived as a boy whose comments he could surmise, and that was the particular condemnation he could not face. So all great patriots have had a deep local rootage. You can love a country if you begin by loving a community, but you cannot love a country if you do not have the true rootages of intimate affection which are the real sources of all that is strongest in human life. So this "celebrated American general" had his necessary local rootage, and the sap of his manhood united him with the soil on which he was bred. It was there he won his celebrity and made secure his fame. I think one of the most interesting things to remember about Lee is that he was an ideal combination of what a man inherits and what he may make of himself.

General Lee came of a distinguished family. His father, Light Horse Harry Lee, was one of the finest breed of those gallant soldiers who made the country free; and the lad in his boyhood must have been bred to many memories of high deeds and to many fine conceptions of patriotic service at the hearth where his father sat.

I like to think, for my part, that Light Horse Harry Lee was bred under the teaching of Doctor John Witherspoon, the great Scotchman who at that day presided over the college at Princeton, and that there is some sort of Princetonian lineage in the man whom we honor now.

But these soldierly traditions, this impulse from a great father, were not what made Robert E. Lee. After all what makes and distinguishes a man is not that he is derived from any family or from any training, but that he has discovered for himself the true role of manhood in his own day. No man gains distinction who does not make some gift of his own individuality to the thing that he does,—to the generation which he serves.

This man was not great because he was born of a soldier and bred in a school of soldiers, but because, of whomsoever he may have been born, howsoever he was bred, he was a man who saw his duty, who conceived it in high terms, and who spent himself, not upon his own ambitions, but in the duty that lay before him. We like to remember all the splendid family traditions of the Lees, but we like most of all to remember that this man was greater than all the traditions of his family; that there was a culmination here that

could not have been reached by the mere drift of what men remember, but must be reached by what men originate and conceive.

I am not going to try to outline the career of Lee, because I feel the compulsion of that last characteristic of General Lee. I do not want to live, and I do not wish to ask you to live, on the memory of what General Lee did. I want to remind you of how General Lee turned immediately from war, when it was past, to the future which was to come, and said, "I will do my part in trying to make the young men of this country ready for the things which are yet to be done."

We are not at liberty to walk with our eyes over our shoulders, recalling the things which were done in the past; we are bound in conscience to march with our eyes forward, with the accents of such men in our ears saying, "We lived not as you must live. We lived for our generation; we tried to do its tasks. Turn your faces and your hands likewise to the tasks that you have to do." We would not be honoring General Lee if we did not think of him only enough to remind ourselves of what we have to do to be like him. The true eulogy of General Lee is a life which is meant to be patterned after his standards of duty and of achievement. And so I am not going to ask you tonight to look back at General Lee, but, rather to answer the question—"What does General Lee mean to us?"

It is a notable thing that we see when we look back to men of this sort. The civil war is something which we cannot even yet uncover in memory without stirring embers which may spring into a blaze. There was deep color and the ardor of blood in that contest. The field is lurid with the light of passion, and yet in the midst of that crimson field stands this gentle figure,—a man whom you remember, not as a man who loved war, but as a man moved by all the high impulses of gentle kindness, a man whom men did not fear, but loved; a man in whom everybody who approached him marked singular gentleness, singular sweetness, singular modesty,—none of the pomp of the soldier, but all the simplicity of the gentleman. This man is in the center of that crimson field, is the central figure of a great tragedy. A singular tragedy it seems which centers in a gentleman who loved his fellow men and sought to serve them by the power of love, and

who yet, in serving them with the power of love, won the imperishable fame of a great soldier! A singular contradiction!

It is true that we do not think entirely correctly of Lee in supposing that he was compact entirely of gentleness. No man whom you deeply care for or look to for leadership is made up altogether of gentle qualities. When you come into the presence of a leader of men you know you have come into the presence of fire,—that it is best not incautiously to touch that man,—that there is something that makes it dangerous to cross him, that if you grapple his mind you will find that you have grappled with flame and fire. You do not want sweetness merely and light in men who lead you; and there was just as much fire in Lee as there was in Washington. In Washington it was more upon the surface, but it was not more truly present. Every man who approached Washington had the singular impression that he was in the presence of a man of tremendous passions. He was always well in hand; but you knew that the man himself was aware that he was driving a mettlesome team, which he had to watch at every moment to avoid sudden runaway, when circumstances were exigent or exciting.

You did not get that impression when in the presence of Lee. I have only the delightful memory of standing, when a lad, for a moment by General Lee's side and looking up into his face, so that I have nothing but a child's memory of the man; but those who saw him when they were men and could judge say that you got no impression of constrained and governed passion such as men got from General Washington. But whenever General Lee was in the field no one dared cross him; no one dared neglect his orders, no one dared exercise a dangerous discretion in the carrying out of his commands. There would flare in the man a consuming fire of anger; those who were in his presence felt it was dangerous so much as to breathe naturally until it was past. There was something of the tiger in this man when his purpose was aroused and in action. It would immediately recede; quiet gentleness would come again, that perfect poise, that delightful sense of ease as he moved from one purpose to another; but you would not forget that moment of exposed fire,—you would know that you had been in the presence of consuming force.

But what strikes me as most interesting in the example of General Lee is that this was not in one sense of the word personal force at all. Touch General Lee about himself and you never saw the flash of fire, but touch him about things he regarded as his duty, and you saw it instantly. So the force that presided in him was no other than that moral force which may be said to be a principle in action. There is a sense, I sometimes think, in which every one of us in whose life principle forms a part is merely holding up a light which he himself did not kindle, not his own principle, not something peculiar and individual to himself, but that light which must light all mankind, the love of truth, the love of duty, the love of those things which are not stated in the terms of personal interest. That is the force and that the fire that moulds men or else consumes them.

You need not be afraid of the fire that is in selfish passion, you can crush that; but you cannot crush the fire that is in unselfish passion. You know that there you are in the presence of the greatest force in the world, the only force that lifts men or nations to greatness, or purifies communities; and that is the consuming fire which we dare not touch. I apply this thought sometimes to existing circumstances. I grow tired often, as I tire of any futility, of hearing certain abuses condemned and not having the condemnation followed by a list of the names of the persons who are guilty of them; for there is not a group of men in this country who could stand the heat of the fire that would scorch those names. You cannot scorch the abuse, but you can consume men by merely exposing them to this moral fire, which they know is the fire of their death; and that is the sort of force that burned in General Lee. All his life through you are aware of a conscious self-subordination to principles which lay outside of his personal life.

I have sometimes noted with a great deal of interest how careless we are about most words in our language, and yet how careful we are about some others; for example, there is one word which we do not use carelessly and that is the word "noble." We use the word "great" indiscriminately. A man is great because he has had great material success and has piled up a fortune; a man is great because he is a great writer, or a great orator; a man is great because he is a great

hero. We notice in him some distinct quality that overtops like qualities in other men. But we reserve the word "noble" carefully for those whose greatness is not spent in their own interest. A man must have a margin of energy which he does not spend upon himself in order to win this title of nobility. He is noble in our popular conception only when he goes outside the narrow circle of self-interest, and begins to spend himself for the interest of mankind. Then, however humble his gifts, however undistinguished his intellectual force, we give him this title of nobility, and admit him into the high peerage of men who will not be forgotten.

Now that was the characteristic of General Lee's life. It was not only moral force, but it was moral force conscientiously guided by interests which were not his own. You do not need to have me illustrate that. It was manifestly not to General Lee's personal interest to take command of the armies of the South. He could have taken command of the armies of the North; and, in spite of the noble quality of the Southern struggle, every man now sees that the forces of the world were sure to crush the self-assertion of the South; and General Lee knew enough of the force of the world, had been schooled enough in national armies to know upon which side the probability of material power lay and therefore the probability of success in arms. He knew that the South would be weak in that it could not count on the support of the world, and the North could. A man seeking his own aggrandizement would not have chosen as General Lee did. But he did not choose with any, even momentary regard for his personal fortune. He sacrificed himself for the things that were nearest, the things I have illustrated in the homely anecdote about Webster. He thought of the neighbors; he knew that a man's nearest attachments are his best attachments, and his nearest duties his imperative duties. He had been born in Virginia, he was Virginia's. Virginia could do with him as she pleased. And wherever that spirit obtains, wherever men can be found in the State of North Carolina, or in any other State, who conscientiously live upon this principle, that they belong to North Carolina, that they belong to their people and to their state and must see to it that they yield themselves to the needs and commands of their people and do the things that are necessary to be done for their

welfare, those are the men who, if they do not look merely to their own fame, will sometime be written upon the roll of honor of the local and national history of this country.

So that there is brought to the surface in General Lee, as it were, the consummate fire of a democratic nation, the perfect product of a common conscience and a common consciousness expressing itself in an instrument excellently suitable because of its own fine quality. You may use a clumsy instrument for the right purpose, but it is better to use a perfect instrument, and this man was like the finest steel adapting himself to the nicest strokes of precision and yet incapable of being snapped or broken by any impact. He was a perfect instrument for a thing which we too little think of.

I do not believe in a democratic form of government because I think it the best form of government. It is the clumsiest form of government in the world. If you wanted to make a merely effective government you would make it of fewer persons. If you wanted to invent a government that would act with speed and quick force, you would be doing a clumsy thing to make it democratic in structure. That is not purposed to be the best form, but to have the best sources.

Did you ever think how the world managed politically to get through the middle ages? It got through them without breakdown because it had the Roman Catholic Church to draw upon for native gifts, and by no other means that I can see. If you will look at the politics of the middle ages you will see that states depended for their guidance upon great ecclesiastics, and they depended upon them because the community itself was in strata, was in classes, and the Roman Catholic Church was a great democracy. Any peasant could become a priest, and any priest a chancellor. And this reservoir of democratic power and native ability was what brought the middle ages through their politics. If they had not had a democratic supply of capacity they could not have conducted a sterile aristocratic polity. An aristocratic polity goes to seed. The establishment of a democratic nation means that any man in it may, if he consecrate himself and use himself in the right way, come to be the recognized instrument of a whole nation. It is an incomparable resourceful arrangement, though it is not the best practical organization of government.

In a man like General Lee you see a common conscientiousness made manifest; and this singular thing revealed, that by a root which seems to be a root of failure a man may be lifted to be the model of a whole nation. For it is not an exaggeration to say that in all parts of this country the manhood and the self-forgetfulness and the achievements of General Lee are a conscious model to men who would be morally great. This man who chose the course which eventually led to practical failure is one of the models of the times. "A nation," Browning says, "is but the attempt of many to rise to the completer life of one; and those who live as the models for the mass are singly of more value than they all."

The moral force of a country like America lies in the fact that every man has it within his choice to express the nation in himself. I am interested in historical examples as a mere historian. I was guilty myself of the indiscretion of writing a history, but I will tell you frankly, if you will not let it go further, that I wrote it, not to instruct anybody else, but to instruct myself. I wrote the history of the United States in order to learn it. That may be an expensive process for other persons who bought the book, but I lived in the United States and my interest in learning their history was, not to remember what happened, but to find which way we were going.

I remember a traveller telling me of being on a road in Scotland and asking a man breaking stone by the roadside if this was the road to so and so, the man said "where did you come from?"; he answered, "I don't know whether it is any of your business where I came from." "Weel," said the man, "it's as muckle as whaur ye're ganging tae." There is a great deal of philosophy in that question asked by the roadside. If I am near a cross road and ask if this is the road to so and so, it is a pertinent question to ask me where I came from.

We often speak of a man as having "lost himself," in a desert for example. Did you never reflect that that is the only thing he has not lost,—himself? He is there. The danger of the situation is that he has lost all the rest of the world. He doesn't know where the North is, or the South, or the East, or the West,—has lost every point of the compass. The only way by which he can start is to get some fixed and known point by which he can determine his direction. A nation

that does not know its history and heed its history has lost itself. Unless you know where you came from you do not know where you are going to.

I am told by psychologists that if I did not remember who I was yesterday I would not know who I am today. Now the same is true of a nation. A nation which does not remember what it was yesterday does not know what it is today, or what it is trying to do. We are trying to do a futile thing if we do not know where we came from or what we have been about.

We have stumbled upon a confusing age; nothing is like it was fifteen years ago,—certainly in the field of economic endeavor, and we are casting about to discover a new world without any standards taken out of an older world by which we can make the comparison.

I was passing through the city of Omaha during the latter stages of the presidential campaign and I bought the morning paper, the "Omaha Bee" and found in it an interesting article by my friend Mr. Rosewater in which he made capital fun of a quotation about the tariff from Mr. Bryan. I thought there was something odd about the quotation, and it turned out the next morning that Mr. Rosewater, himself a member of the Republican National Committee, had been making fun, not of a quotation from Bryan, but of a quotation from the Republican platform. Now the point is, that unless you had an experienced nose in that campaign, if you picked up either of the platforms you had to look at the label to see which it was. The reason is that in recent years we have been looking about for expedients and policies and have not been looking about for principles.

If you want me to bid against you for a popular policy I will probably resort to the expedient of matching your bid if I think it is a good one; but if I happen to be restrained by certain knowledge of what happened once before, I may choose differently and by a longer measurement. I may say there are certain things going to happen in this; they are going to happen upon well known and ancient principles: having read history I would be a fool if I did not know it. I am going to hark back to those fundamental principles which hold good despite changes of policy. I am not going to hark back to old policies, but I shall try to find out whether there is not some new and

suitable expression of those old principles in new policies. Although I may not assist my party to win at the next election by such a course, it is sure thereby to win at some election, at which it will give it such distinction that the country will thereafter for a whole generation recognize in it the only safe counsellor it has.

If you want to win at an election which occurs tomorrow probably you haven't time to remind your fellow countryman of the abiding principles upon which they should act; but if you form the habit of basing your advice upon definite principles you will presently gain a permanent following such as you could not possibly have gained upon any bidding for popularity by mere expedients.

I want to say that the lesson of General Lee's life to me is that it is not the immediate future that should be the basis of the statesman's calculation. If you had been in Lee's position, what would have been your calculation of expediency? Here was a great national power, material and spiritual, in the North. In the Northwest there had grown up by a slow process, as irresistible as the glacial movement, a great national feeling, a feeling in which was quite obliterated and lost the old idea of the separate sovereignty of states. In the South there had been a steadfast maintenance of the older conception of the union. What in such a case would you have said to your countrymen? "It will be most proper, as it will certainly be most expedient, for you to give in to the majority, and vote for the Northern conception?" Not at all. If you had been of Lee's kind you would have known that men's consciences, men's habits of thought, lie deeper than that, and you would have said: "No; this is not a time to talk about majorities; this is a time to express convictions; and if her conviction is not expressed by the South in terms of blood she will lose her character. These are her convictions, and if she yield them out of expediency she will have proved herself of the soft fibre of those who do not care to suffer for what they profess to love." Even a man who saw the end from the beginning should, in my conception as a Southerner, have voted for spending his people's blood and his own, rather than pursue the weak course of expediency. There is here no mere device, no regard to the immediate future. What has been the result?—

ask yourself that. It has been that the South has retained her best asset, her self-respect.

Let that great case serve as an example. Are you going into political campaigns of a less fundamental character on the ground of expediency, or are you going in on the ground of your real opinions and ultimate self-respect?

For my part, if I did not, after saturating myself in the conceptions upon which this government was formed, express my knowledge of those principles and my belief in them by the way I voted, I would lose my self-respect; and I would not care to have anybody's company in the poor practice. What this country needs now in the field of politics is principle; not measures of expediency, but principle,—principles expressed in terms of the present circumstances, but principles nevertheless. And principles do not spring up in a night; principles are not new, principles are ancient.

There is one lesson that the peoples of the world have learned so often that they ought to esteem themselves contemptible if they have to learn it again, and that is that if you concentrate the management of a people's affairs in a single central government and carry that concentration beyond a certain point of oversight and regulation, you will certainly provoke again those revolutionary processes by which individual liberty was asserted. We have had so little excess of government in this country that we have forgotten that excess of government is the very antithesis of liberty. So it seems to me that the principle by which we should be guided above all others is this, that we do not want to harness men like Lee in the service of a managing government; we want to see to it that, though there is control, it is control of law and not the discretionary control of executive officials. We want to see to it that while there is the restraint of abuses, it is persons who are restrained, and not unnamed bodies of persons. There is only, historically speaking, one possible successful punishment of abuses of law, and that is, that when a wrong thing is done you find the man who did it and punish him. You can fine all the corporations there are, and fine them out of existence, and all you will have done will be to have embarrassed the commerce of the country. You will have left the men who did it free to repeat it in other combinations.

I am going to use an illustration which you can easily understand, but I am going to ask you not to misunderstand it. Suppose I could incorporate an association of burglars with the assurance that you would restrain their actions, not as individuals, but only as a corporation. Whenever a burglary occurred you would fine the corporation. They would be very much pleased with that arrangement, because it would leave them the service of their most accomplished burglars, who could fool you half the time and not be found out. Such a corporation would be willing to pay you a heavy fine for the privilege. Now I do not mean to draw a parallel between our great corporations and burglars,—that is where you are likely to misunderstand me, because I do not hold the general belief that the majority of the business men of this country are burglars; I believe, on the contrary, that the number of malicious men engaged in corporations in this country is very small. But that small number is singularly gifted, and until you have picked them out and distinguished them for punishment you have not touched the process by which they succeed in doing what they wish. You may say that this is a very difficult thing, that there is so much covert, so much undergrowth, the nation is so thickset with organizations that you can not see them and run them to cover.

Perhaps you are right; but that does not make any difference to my argument; whether difficult, or not, it has got to be done. If you don't know enough to do it, it is none the less necessary to find the way.

What have we been doing in the last fifteen years? Trying to remedy things which we have not stopped long enough to understand.

I was talking the other day to a body of men which included a good many persons belonging to the profession to which I used to belong. I used to be a lawyer. I said to these men: "I am sure there are a great many corporation lawyers in this audience and I have something to say to them. You know exactly what is being done that ought not to be done. You complain that the legislators of this country are playing havoc with the industry of the country by trying to remedy things in the wrong way. Now, if you really want to save the corporations, you will tell the legislators you complain of what ought to be done and how. If you do not, they will continue their experi-

ments and destroy your corporations, but having said that to you I must add that I don't expect you to have sense enough to do anything of the kind."

There is a hopeless sort of fidelity in men who are employed as advisers that prevents their seeing the coming of the deluge; and yet it is they who are to blame if it comes. If you and I had this difficult task in hand of regulating the corporations, whom would we call into counsel? The men who had handled the business. And yet they are the very men who will not yield us any service in the matter at all. They are the very men who are neglecting this great example we are recalling tonight. They are acting upon lines of self-interest, closing in the lines of self-interest as about themselves, and about those whom they represent, and forgetting those greater interests which, if they forget, they oppose,—the interests of the nation and of our common life. And so hostility has sprung up where there should be coöperation, and blunders are committed because men who know how the thing ought to be done will not give public counsel. We must stop long enough to know what we are about and then go fearlessly forward and do it against the guilty individuals.

I think if I had an independent fortune, and could give up my present profession I could find a delightful occupation. I would take up my residence in the city of Washington and would industriously find out from the central bureaux of inquiry what was going on in the larger business world of the United States. Then I would prepare one or two addresses upon the knowledge which I had gained and would make a careful list of the names of the gentlemen who had been doing the things that ought not to be done. They could not do me any harm physically, and I would enjoy the opinion they would have of me. If I could once get their names I would not need the assistance of the criminal law; I would only have to publish the names and prove the facts to put them out of business. Because the moral judgments of this country are as sound as they ever were, and if you direct them in the right channels they are irresistibly effective. At present we are directing them into oratorical channels and not into legislative or judicial channels.

The channels of legislation, the humdrum daily administration of courts of justice are the effective

channels of government, and I would rather have government carried successfully on by such means than hear all the fine speeches that have been uttered by the most gifted speakers. I am not depreciating speakers, because that is part of my own business, and I would not ask you to look with contempt upon the humble vocation which I attempt. But I would look with contempt upon myself if I supposed speaking to be a kind of action.

Now, gentlemen, what does it mean that General Lee is accepted as a national hero? It means simply this delightful thing, that there are no sections in this country any more; that we are a nation and are proud of all the great heroes whom the great processes of our national life have elevated into conspicuous places of fame. I believe that the future lies with all those men who devote themselves to national thinking, who eschew those narrow calculations of self-interest which affect only particular communities and try to conceive of communities as a part of a great national life which must be purified in order that it may be successful. For we may pile up wealth until it exceed all fables of riches in ancient fiction and the nation which possesses it may yet use it to malevolent ends. A poor nation such as the United States was in 1812, for example, if it is in the right, is more formidable to the world than the richest nation in the wrong. For the rich nation in the wrong destroys the fair work that God has permitted and man has wrought; whereas, the poor nation, with purified purpose, is the stronger. It looks into men's hearts and sees the spirit there; finds some expression of that spirit in life; bears the fine aspect of hope and exhibits in all its purposes the irresistible quality of rectitude. These are the things which make a nation formidable. There is nothing so self destructive as

selfishness, and there is nothing so permanent as the work of hands that are unselfish. You may pile up fortunes and dissolve them, but pile up ideals and they will never be dissolved. A quiet company of gentlemen sitting through a dull summer in the city of Philadelphia worked out for a poor and rural nation an immortal constitution, which has made statesmen all over the world feel confidence in the political future of the race. They knew that human liberty was a feasible basis of government.

There is always danger that certain men thinking only of the material prospects of their section, wishing to get the benefit of the tariff, it may be, or of this thing, or of that, when it comes to the distribution of favors, will write only the history which has been written again and again, whose reiteration has been repeated since the world began; from which no man will draw fresh inspiration, from which no ideal can spring, from which no strength can be drawn. Whereas the nation which denies itself material advantage and seeks those things which are of the spirit works not only for each generation, but for all generations, and works in the permanent and durable stuffs of humanity.

I spoke just now in disparagement of the vocation of the orator. I wish there were some great orator who could go about and make men drunk with this spirit of self-sacrifice. I wish there were some men whose tongue might every day carry abroad the golden accents of that creative age in which we were born a nation; accents which would ring like tones of reassurance around the whole circle of the globe, so that America might again have the distinction of showing men the way, the certain way, of achievement and of confident hope.

SCIENTIFIC METHODS OF STUDYING HUMAN SOCIETY

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

IF WE ARE to have dependable social theory, we must have sound scientific methods of studying human society. It may seem rash to sum up in a few simple paragraphs which anyone can understand the outcome of the methodological controversies which the last two decades

have witnessed in the field of the social sciences. Yet I believe that the time is ripe to attempt this. Professor Giddings has already given us his view in a valuable series of articles in this JOURNAL. What I wish to attempt is a very much simpler summary.

It is becoming increasingly evident that what has been called the psychological method of studying social problems, namely, by deductions from individual psychology, or original human nature, is inadequate. A too exclusive use of this sort of psychological analysis in the social sciences leads to many serious errors; for the human mind as we know it, and hence human behavior, are very largely products of historical social conditions. The mind and the conduct of an individual, in other words, is largely a product of the social tradition or culture into which the individual is born. The psychology of social behavior becomes dependent, therefore, upon an understanding of the historical social environment in which the individual lives. To study human institutions exclusively from the standpoint of the mechanism of the individual mind is accordingly a grievous blunder. Group behavior is even more an historical and cultural product than a product of original human nature. Much more than deduction from individual psychology is, therefore, involved in the psychology of human society or group behavior. It would be unreasonable to suppose that so complex phenomena could be understood through the work in psychological and biological laboratories, though this work may be of great value in understanding group behavior. The exact place of deductions from individual psychology and biology in the scientific study of human society will be seen later.

All modern science is essentially inductive in spirit; that is it proceeds from the facts to the theory rather than from the theory to facts—from particulars to universals rather than from universals to particulars. This does not preclude all use of deductions in the scientific study of society from biological and psychological laws and principles, for such laws and principles have been built up from the inductive study of facts. It does indicate, however, that the scientific student of human society must study social facts, if he is to proceed according to a sound method. Where then shall he get his facts concerning human society? Manifestly there are three sources; first, from anthropology and ethnology, both physical and cultural; secondly, from written history; thirdly, from the observation and the collection of facts regarding present social life. Let us consider briefly what each of these sources

might contribute to the study of human social behavior.

1. *The Anthropological or Comparative Method.* The facts which anthropology has gathered regarding the social life and institutions of uncivilized peoples are of unique value in the scientific study of human society because they help us to understand the beginnings of customs and institutions, and so afford a background for the understanding not only of present social life but of the whole course of social evolution. This mass of data enables us not only to compare the institutions of various people in different stages of social evolution, but also to compare the reactions of human nature to various social conditions. There are, however, grave dangers in this method when it is applied too uncritically to the interpretation of the existing social life of civilized peoples; for uncivilized peoples are not "our contemporaneous ancestors," as they have often been called, but in every case represent more or less divergent social evolution. There can be no question, however, as to the value of this method when used with reasonable precautions by students who understand human history and human nature.

2. *The Historical Method.* The study of human history enables us to compare social processes and social behavior at different points of time. It enables us to see the modifying effect of various conditions upon social behavior. Moreover, it spreads before us the process of social development during a certain period of time and enables us to trace the continuity of factors and forces in social development. This is especially true when the history of a people is full and all-sided rather than unilateral. Thus reliable written history furnishes the scientific student of society a mine of social facts which are perhaps more valuable than any other set of facts in the inductive study of human society. The great social problems and social movements in the civilized world of the present especially cannot be understood apart from their historic setting. It would be vain, for example, to try to get a scientific understanding of such a social movement as Christianity without an understanding of its historic setting; yet this movement affects all the problems of our present civilization, and hence practically all of the problems of social behavior in which we are vitally interested. It may be said

that such a reliable, all-sided history remains yet to be written. This may be taken for granted; but it would remain not less true that scientifically written history, despite the short time which it covers, is the great desideratum of the scientific study of existing social behavior. It is, of course inadequate by itself and must be supplemented by all the other methods which we are discussing.

3. *The Social Survey Method.* A third source of facts for the scientific study of human society is to be found in the observation and collection of facts regarding existing civilized communities. In a broad sense this method covers all statistical and exact methods of studying present social life. Usually we mean by "social surveys," however, special studies, more or less exact, of local communities. It is only when this method is generalized and extended over large areas and through considerable lengths of time, as in the United States Census and in other collections of demographical and statistical material, that it becomes of high scientific value. Such observations and colligations of facts regarding present social behavior and present social conditions throw a light upon human behavior in domestic, political and industrial relations which we could not get from anthropology, psychology, or even written history. When our survey of social facts is wide enough it reveals great trends in human behavior which laboratory methods could scarcely discover. Moreover, it is a general scientific principle that the scientific value of a fact is usually in proportion to its nearness to the scientific observer. The survey method of studying social facts is, therefore, of great value to the scientific student of society.

The statistical method is simply that phase of this method which undertakes to reach exact measurements of social movements and tendencies through the tabulation, enumeration, and comparison of the facts collected by observation. The statistical method presents the one method open to us of measuring social facts upon a wide scale or of mass movements. As yet we possess statistics of only very small sections of our social life, and this method has still to be enormously developed before it is susceptible of application to the more general problems of social behavior. For this reason but little use can be made of the statistical method at the present time in dealing with the more general problems of sociology.

We should not overlook the fact that the observation and study of the smaller human groups, which involve face-to-face association, may furnish a wealth of facts to the trained scientific observer, which in a certain sense are of greater sociological value than any which the study of the larger groups can afford. It is the study of these face-to-face groups which especially gives a valuable insight into the processes of social life. This is all the more true when we combine the observation of such groups with what we may call "sympathetic introspection" of the minds of the individuals making up different groups; for we then study them from the inside, as it were. If "sympathetic introspection" is not to introduce fallacies, however, it must be checked up by careful observation of objective behavior. When coupled with such observation it enables us to study the workings of many psychic elements, such as interest, desire, emotion, belief, and tradition. "Sympathetic introspection," while itself deductive, when used in combination with observation is an invaluable instrument for the psychological understanding of group life.

Obviously, all of these inductive methods of studying collective human behavior will be employed by the intelligent scientific student. A complex science such as sociology demands a composite method which synthesizes all inductive methods of research, the anthropological, the historical, the statistical, and the survey methods. Even such a composite inductive method will, however, prove inadequate for the higher generalizations in sociology. In science in general, while induction may furnish us facts, it is deduction which furnishes the hypothesis to interpret the facts; so in the social sciences deduction is of use in furnishing us with working hypotheses.

4. *The Method of Deduction from Biology and Psychology.* Biology and psychology may furnish us with general principles for the interpretation of the facts of social behavior. It is a general rule in the more complex sciences that principles of explanation come from the simpler antecedent sciences. The "social" is not a realm by itself, but is built up out of the biological and psychological. Hence, ultimate principles of explanation in sociology must be either biological or psychological. It is scarcely ever possible, however, to explain human social phenomena simply and wholly through some biological fact;

and the same is true of psychological facts. Biological and psychological facts and principles are at work in human society, but we shall untangle their workings best if we combine a knowledge of biological and psychological principles with an inductive study of collective human behavior. In other words, *a complex science such as sociology demands for a complete and adequate scientific method a synthesis of the results of deduction from the principles of antecedent sciences with the facts secured through the inductive study of the social life by means of anthropology, history, observation, and statistics.* All the facts from these sources must be put together in a constructive synthesis before our psychology of human society is complete.

5. *Philosophical Assumptions and a priori Methods.* It should not be necessary to say that metaphysical assumptions and personal bias should be eliminated as far as possible if the problems of the social life are to be studied from the scientific point of view. To make use of metaphysical assumptions in our social study is to reverse the method of science and will probably obscure to our minds some of the facts which should be taken into account. The method of science is not to build itself upon some universal assumption, but rather to start with common sense, and to build up our generalizations out of all the facts of experience. These facts appear to us as both physical and psychical. We are unwarranted, therefore, in assuming the doctrine of materialism, that only physical facts have reality. The attempt to reduce scientific method in the social sciences to the tracing of mechanical causation in social phenomena, thus excluding all explanation of our social life in terms of conscious processes, is unwarranted by the nature and method of science; for the universal validity of such a principle of explanation has not yet been demonstrated. In the physical sciences the mechanistic principle of explanation seems to have demonstrated its sufficiency; but the case is very different in the mental and social sciences. As scientific students of society we can have no objection to carrying the mechanistic or materialistic explanation of social phenomena as far as it has been demonstrated to go. But if we keep the scientific attitude of mind we will not extend its use beyond the limits of demonstration. Nothing

but confusion and disagreement can result if we do so. The economists, for example, would not be justified at the present time in disregarding all conscious social processes and in trying to construe the phenomena of prices and markets in terms of mechanical causation. Moreover, if they did so, such an explanation by itself would be meaningless; for we cannot understand such a fact as economic value apart from all consciousness, nor any other social value.

On the other hand, the scientific student of society who ignores the physical facts of life and attempts to explain everything in terms of psychic processes is equally guilty of the use of a wrong method. It may even be said that in the past, at least, a too exclusive use of subjective methods in the social sciences has prevented those studies from developing into true sciences, or reliable bodies of tested knowledge, even more than the use of materialistic methods. It may be well to repeat that the method of science is the method of the open-minded, unbiased investigation of facts. Hence, we must put down as inadequate methods both "subjectivism," or exclusive attention to internal psychic factors, and "objectivism," or exclusive attention to external physical factors. For example, if we study the cultural stages in the history of any institution we shall need to study, not only the physical and economic environment, but also habit, suggestion, imitation, and inventive ideas. We shall need to pay as much attention to custom, tradition, communication, group opinion, and the rise of new ideas as we do to the physical environment. We shall see that we have no way as yet of tracing or reducing such psychic factors to the physical. Hence, in civilized human society the great mass of social phenomena can be understood only in psychological terms. This is true, not only of economic values, social standards, traditions, and religion, but also of customs, institutions, and nearly all group behavior.

This discussion of scientific method, remote as it may seem to the student from the practical problems of life, has a vital bearing upon these latter. For if social science is to guide us in the solution of these practical problems, as an eminent British sociologist has said, "it must purge itself of that mechanistic taint which pollutes its

sources of vital thought, inhibits spiritual insight, and lowers its efficiency for social service. . . . Current industry and business, even politics and education, have come to be fatally dominated by the mode of thought which characterizes the lower sciences. The consequent bias of a hard and forbidding materialism is all the more perilous because so largely unconscious." And we may add that a bias in the opposite direction

might readily lead to a lack of reality in our conceptions and to futility in our practical control over social situations. If it is true that only a competent and sound scientific method is capable of producing competent and sound social knowledge it is also true that only the open-minded love of truth, the unprejudged consideration of all facts, is able to give us a sound and competent scientific method for our study of human society.

THE RISE OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

F. R. CLOW

ALTHOUGH education is old, it is always entering upon some new stage in its growth; and as a study pursued in the colleges and universities, it is new. Sociology, as a body of principles, is new. And newer than either of these is educational sociology. This article will begin by tracing the relationship of this fledgling back to the social phases of education and to the application of the new science of sociology in the study of education.

Education has always had its social phases. Although there is much solitary *learning*, *teaching* is always and everywhere a social process: a teacher and one pupil make a society. But there are other and less obvious social phases. The pupil learns things from the teacher of which the teacher is unaware; the pupil learns from other pupils; the pupil learns from his surroundings during the hours and days when he is not in school; it is his entire experience that educates. In other words, school education is more than teacher and text-book, and there are other educational agencies besides the school. Furthermore, the education which the school tries to give is a reflection of the social mind of the time and country: teacher and text-book are social products. The aim of education usually reaches beyond the individual pupil, the real aim being the society of the future of which the pupil will some day become a part. When we talk of the social phase or phases of education, it is some of these less obvious phases that we have in mind.

The sociological phase of education, in distinction from the merely social, is some reaction of the science of sociology on educational doctrine

or practice. The more general term of course covers the meaning of the narrower one as well, and we would expect to find that the sociological phase of education developed at a time when the social phases were receiving special attention.

The social phases of education have always received attention. Testimony to this effect is found in the work of Socrates, Quintilian, Abelard, Vittorino, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Thomas Arnold, and most of the other great teachers. But during the closing years of the nineteenth century there was a notable increase in that attention, at least in the United States. In 1897 there appeared a pamphlet (No. 25 in a series of *Teachers Manuals* published by E. L. Kellogg & Co., New York) containing two articles by professors in the University of Chicago: "My Pedagogic Creed," by John Dewey, and "The Demands of Sociology upon Pedagogy," by Albion W. Small, with a brief introduction by Superintendent Samuel T. Dutton, of Brookline, Mass. Superintendent Dutton said:

Another, and perhaps the latest, phase of the educational movement is the conviction that the school is a social institution, that its aims are social, and that its management, discipline, and methods of instruction should be dominated by this idea.

Professor Dewey's article had appeared earlier in a magazine, likewise published by Kellogg. It is very condensed, as creeds usually are. Each paragraph begins with the formula, "I believe," and in the space of sixteen small pages Dewey gives what is really a forecast of the progress in education during the past quarter century to which he and others have contributed. The best short quotation from the article would be two-

thirds of the page beginning, "I believe that the school is primarily a social institution. Education being a social process," etc. (p. 7). The year before (1896) Professor Dewey had started the University-Elementary School which soon became famous for its experiments in education. In 1899 he delivered three lectures to the patrons and friends of this school. These lectures were published in a book entitled, *The School and Society*. During the next twelve years there appeared eleven editions of the book, totalling 16,500 copies.

Superintendent Dutton also brought together some addresses and papers in 1899, which he had prepared for various occasions, and published them under the title, *Social Phases of Education in the School and the Home*.

In 1897 the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations was organized, and it has continued with state and local branches down to the present time. In 1898 the *Public School Journal*, a monthly which began its career in 1881 at Bloomington, Ill., was changed to *School and Home Education*, a name "broad enough," as the publisher states in a recent letter, "to include school education as well as the relation to home and the community." Though not commercially profitable it continued with undiminished quality to the end of 1922. Now its specific function is being performed by other journals.

Of the many books which followed those of Dewey and Dutton, four are selected for mention here: *Social Education*, by Colin A. Scott, 1908; *Social Development and Education*, by O'Shea, 1909; and *Social Aspects of Education*, by Irving King, and *Social Principles of Education*, by Betts, both of which appeared in 1912.

During the sixteen years, 1897-1912, our educational system changed greatly. Among the new features were the growth of high schools, the great extension of manual training and industrial education, the coming of continuation schools and other part-time schools, the beginnings of vocational guidance as a school function, and the extension of organized athletics in the high schools and of contests between schools in football and debating.

During the eleven years since 1912 the disorders in Europe have given the keynote to our education as well as to many of our other social activities. They have demanded increased atten-

tion to citizenship, Americanization, military training, health, safety, ethics, and foreign language. Curricula have been changed to give more prominence to the social studies such as history, civics, economics, sociology, and current events. The Bureau of Education made an investigation in 1919 of the place of these studies (history excepted) in the high schools of the country, and in 1922 it made another, and the results are embodied in a bulletin (1922, No. 45). Finally, during the past two years there has been a joint committee of the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, and other kindred organizations, which has been studying the teaching of social science and preparing a report on social studies in the schools, including history.

Now let us see what has been done in the sociological phase. Sociology came into existence in the work of Herbert Spencer. His *Principles of Sociology* appeared in three volumes from 1876 to 1896. The work, however, was in his mind years before. The ten volumes of the *Synthetic Philosophy*, of which the *Sociology* formed the core, were planned in 1860, and his *Social Statics* was first published in 1850. While it may be questioned whether Spencer's *Principles* had much direct effect on education, his sociological mind yielded a by-product which had a direct and very great influence, and that was his essay, *Education*, first published in 1861 and republished in various forms since. Much which has come in education during the past half-century has merely been carrying out the suggestions contained in that essay.

A second evidence of the application of sociology to education came thirty-two years later. In 1893 Dr. W. T. Harris, the United States Commissioner of Education, contributed a review of a book on Froebel to the *Educational Review*, and in it he used these words:

But no philosophy of education is fundamental until it is based on sociology—not on physiology, not even on psychology, but on sociology.—Vol. 6, p. 84.

Then again in 1896 he expressed himself thus:

It has been a motto of my theory of education for a great many years, that education is founded on sociology.—National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1896, p. 196.

Where and how Harris got this idea, the writer has so far been unable to learn, but a guess is made in the hope that some reader who is better informed can solve the problem. In 1893 the foremost American sociologist, Lester F. Ward, was living in Washington, also in the employ of the government, and a man only six years younger than Harris. It was possible, therefore, for Harris to get from Ward his vision of what sociology might become, though of course he may have received his stimulus from the reading of Spencer, Schaeffle, Comte, and the other pioneers, and then developed in his own mind a provisional system of sociology.

A third incident in the influence of sociology on education was the publication of the article by Professor Small already mentioned, "Some Demands of Sociology Upon Pedagogy." It was published three times during the year 1897; in the *Proceedings and Addresses* of the National Education Association for 1896, in Volume II of the *American Journal of Sociology*, and in *Teacher's Manual* No. 25. The following quotation contains the central thought:

While sociology proper is not a desirable subject for young pupils, our educational methods will be miserably inadequate to their social function till every teacher, from the kindergarten on, is sufficiently instructed in sociology to put all his teaching in the setting which the sociological view-point affords.—*A. J. S.*, Vol 2, p. 847.

How much effect these two pronouncements by Harris and Small had on educational practice would be difficult to trace, but there followed a series of events showing that sociology entered into the training of teachers in the normal schools and universities.

During the summer of 1895 the board of regents of normal schools in Minnesota revised their curriculum and made "social science" a required study. During the ensuing year the school at Winona began giving a course in sociology, with Manfred J. Holmes as teacher and using the new manual by Small and Vincent. The other schools in the state continued for a time to give economics or civics to meet the requirement of the board.

In 1896 President L. D. Harvey introduced a course in sociology in the normal school at Milwaukee, and taught it himself the first two years. Thereafter it was taught by W. H. Cheever until his death twenty-four years later. Due partly to

the fact that Harvey and Cheever were both great teachers, this course attracted much attention, with the result that the permission to offer sociology, which Milwaukee alone had enjoyed was extended in 1902 to all the normal schools of Wisconsin. It was introduced at Oshkosh at once and in the other schools some years later.

Among Illinois normal schools the beginning in offering sociology was made by DeKalb in 1900. By 1910 about forty normal schools in the United States included sociology in their curricula.

At the meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Minneapolis in December, 1913, there was a round table on sociology in normal schools. The outcome of it was the appointment of a committee, with John M. Gillette, of the University of North Dakota, as chairman, to investigate the place of sociology in the training of teachers. The two normal school members of the committee arranged with the officers of the National Education Association to have a round table in connection with the meeting of that association in St. Paul in July, 1914. That resulted in the appointment of another committee to find out what is actually being done with sociology in normal schools. A questionnaire was sent out in 1915, and the returns were compiled promptly, but publication of the report could not be secured. In 1917 the Bureau of Education was induced to send out a questionnaire of its own. Its returns were incorporated with the report of the National Education Association committee, and publication was finally secured in the *American Journal of Sociology* in 1920. This report contained returns from 146 normal schools, about two-thirds of which offered something under the name of sociology.

How the colleges and universities use sociology in the training teachers has not been studied historically. They probably did so use it earlier than the normal schools. In 1902 Frank L. Tolman contributed a series of four articles to the *American Journal of Sociology* (Vols. VII and VIII) under the title, "Study of Sociology in Institutions of Learning in the United States." In a section headed "Sociology of Education" he told in some detail of the courses given in these six universities: Leland Stanford, Chicago, Clark, Michigan, New York, and Syracuse; then he named nineteen more in which the subject received "incidental treatment." Michigan and

Syracuse each had a course entitled "Social Phases of Education" and used Dutton's book. At Clark, in the two courses which Tolman names, the instructor was President G. Stanley Hall. At Leland Stanford there was a course in the department of education given by David Snedden called "Education and Society," and it treated of the school as "related to the home, church, and other educational institutions and agencies of the community."

From Dr. Snedden himself comes information that he went in 1900 to Teachers College, Columbia University, to work for the master's degree and study sociology as preparation for his teaching at Stanford the next year for which he was already under appointment. In 1905 he returned to Teachers College, this time to study vocational education as part of his qualification for the doctorate. In 1906 he began giving a course called "social aspects of education," working in part with Dutton who was then professor of school administration at Teachers College.

It is interesting to note here that these applications of sociology to education were antedated by applications in two other fields of practical endeavor, namely, philanthropy and religion. As early as 1884 F. B. Sanborn was giving "social science" at Cornell, dealing with reform and charity, and Tolman lists a course in practical ethics given by F. G. Peabody, at Harvard, in 1880. By 1892 several theological seminaries were giving courses in sociology, presumably with applications to the practical problems of the church.

In 1914 Professor Gillette sent a questionnaire to the colleges and universities asking for information regarding "sociological instruction in the training of teachers," and received seventy-six replies. Seventeen made sociology a required study for students preparing to be teachers, and eleven others encouraged them to take it or made it partly required, and still others made it an elective. Sixteen offered something under the name of "educational sociology."

This term seems to have been first used by Gillette when he was teaching in the normal school at Valley City, North Dakota, but it first came to wide attention in 1908 when Henry Suzzallo adopted it as the name of a course which he gave in Teachers College, Columbia University. The content of the course had little obvious con-

nection with the science of sociology, and the previous study of such sociology was not a condition for enrollment in it. But Suzzallo was a lecturer of rare power so that the course became one of the most popular in the institution, and in a few years courses with that name were being given in many teacher-training institutions throughout the United States.

In some cases the term seems to have encountered a deliberate rejection. At Harvard University there is no course in educational sociology but students who are candidates for the doctor's degree in education are required to take the course in the principles of sociology. From Professor Judd, of the University of Chicago, this statement comes:

A number of our candidates for the doctor's degree take sociology as a minor subject and find it very helpful in connection with their work in education. I have never felt that the content of educational sociology is clearly enough defined to make it a separate subject distinct from school administration and other topics of that type which are now covered by our program.

The *Record of Current Educational Publications*, issued by the Bureau of Education, groups the publications into something over forty classes. It has no class for educational sociology, but it does have a class entitled "Social Aspects of Education" and in that are placed the works on educational sociology.

Beginning with 1916 books on educational sociology, or which could be classified under that title, have been coming out at the rate of one a year. The first was *Fundamentals of Sociology*, by Edwin A. Kirkpatrick. It is sane and well-written, though the system of thought is largely original with the author. The theme is human needs, and the word "Needs" is in the titles of eleven of the twenty chapters.

In 1917 appeared *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*, by Walter R. Smith. Dr. Smith conceives educational sociology as an independent science which is to work out "the social laws governing education" (p. 15). In the preface he says:

The author hopes that the present volume may be found to be a useful introductory text in this important new field, leaving to a later date a scientific and logical treatise on the principles of educational sociology.

In 1918 came *The School as a Social Institution*, by Charles L. Robbins of the New York

Training School for Teachers. The author characterizes it as "not indeed comprehensive enough to be dignified with the title of Educational Sociology, but holding about such a relationship to that field as Educational Psychology has to General Psychology" (p. vi). Though technical sociology is scarcely in evidence, the treatment is comprehensive and searching.

mature students will find plenty in it to challenge their powers of analysis and research. A second edition in two volumes is now in preparation.

A study of the proportions in which sociology and education are combined in five of these books, sociology being taken to mean a systematic exposition of the uniformities observable in societies, yields the following result:

Author of Book	Number of Chapters	Percentage of Sociology	Percentage of Education
Kirkpatrick.....	20	100	31, in five chapters
Smith.....	20	43, in nine chapters	80, in every chapter, exclusively in eleven
Chancellor.....	37	100	8, in two chapters
Clow.....	15	100	28, in every chapter
Snedden.....	52	43, in twenty-two chapters	60, mostly in thirty chapters

In 1919 appeared *Educational Sociology*, by William Estabrook Chancellor. There is little in it about education, but the breezy style makes it interesting reading wherever one dips into it. Here again sociology appears as a system of thought different from any other that has ever been published.

In 1920 appeared *Principles of Sociology with Educational Applications*, by the writer of this article. The title on the back, *Principles of Educational Sociology*, the author was not responsible for. Quotations constitute nearly one-third of the book.

In 1921 the monthly, *Education*, published seven articles by Joseph T. Williams under the title, "Education in Recent Sociology," and they were reprinted in a pamphlet of 84 pages, with the cover title, *What Sociology Has to Contribute to the Science of Education*. One article is devoted to each of these six writers: Ward, Cooley, Todd, Ellwood, Ross, and Hayes, the final article being a summary. Only a price mark and a place in the catalogues of a prominent publishing house are lacking to make this pamphlet the starting point of every serious worker in the sociological phase of education.

The year 1922 saw the publication of Snedden's *Educational Sociology*. It is twice the size of the largest of the preceding books. It is also the most thought-provoking; many of the discussions reach no conclusion, and there is series after series of problems and questions. Classes of

In Robbins there is no distinct exposition of sociological principles, and the percentage of education rises to 100, but the book is throughout scarcely less sociological than the five educational chapters in Kirkpatrick, the last eleven chapters in Smith, or the last thirty in Snedden. In one of his chapters Robbins shows how the school is controlled by the home, the church, philanthropic societies, business and industrial organizations, civil government, etc.

It seems, therefore, that the combination of sociology and education is being made in four different ways:

1. There is the description and analysis of the social phases of education, after the manner of Robbins, in untechnical language and without employing either the terminology or the concepts of sociology.

2. Education is one of the forms of social activity, and therefore any comprehensive treatment of sociology should find a place for it. That is the idea of Kirkpatrick and Chancellor.

3. The principles of sociology may be set forth, and then with each principle the educational corollaries to be drawn from it. Smith does that in the sociological portion of his book.*

4. But Smith does not stop there. He sees

*In a senior or graduate college of education sociology may be made a prerequisite, to be taken in the junior or undergraduate college of arts and sciences along with biology, physiology, psychology, economics, government, history, etc. Then in the study of education the principles of sociology can be used wherever applicable. This plan leaves educational sociology for the teacher training institutions which cannot give room for a course in sociology or whose students are too immature to use the pure sciences.

educational sociology as a distinct science. Two-thirds of his book is devoted to a statement of the social relations of education, and he plans another more advanced book to elaborate the principles of this educational sociology. Snedden's conception is substantially the same, only he makes a sharper separation between the sociology and the education.

If the possibilities of the future depend on the urgency with which these plans are advocated, then the order given above should be exactly reversed: (1) an independent science of educational sociology; (2) giving sociology to intending teachers as a pure science or with educational corollaries sandwiched in to make it educational sociology; (3) presenting the principles of sociology with some magnifying of the activities that are related to education; (4) describing the social phases of education without overt reference to sociological theory.

The representatives of these divergent views, so far as the present writer is aware, do not antagonize one another. Their rivalry is friendly, and they even assist one another. Each is ready to let his work be judged by its intrinsic merits as shown by the test of experience. At the meeting of the American Sociological Society in Chicago in 1922 they talked up the project of forming an organization of their own. In February, 1923, they gathered at Cleveland in connection with the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. They carried out a prearranged program and effected the organization of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology.

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WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN AS A SOCIAL FORCE

MALCOLM M. WILLEY and STUART A. RICE

IF IT BE admitted that any stimulus which causes activity on the part of individuals in their group life is to be considered as a social force, it must follow that an idea in the mind of a man is to be included in this category. But, says Professor Giddings,

"A true and complete description of anything must include measurements of it. . . . There has been a good deal of unprecise talk among sociologists and social workers about 'social forces' . . . Social forces there are; obvious in manifestation or detected by accident, subtle in working or terrific in explosion, and so far known; but they are not yet brought within scientific description, certainly not within the quantitative formulation characteristic of our familiar description of thermo-dynamic, chemical, and electro-magnetic forces. . . . In measuring forces it is necessary to remember that it is impossible to measure them directly. We can measure them only in terms of what they do. For example, the kinetic energy of water falling from a height through a turbine, of an uncoiling spring, of super-heated steam back of a piston head, of an electric current, is measured by the number of pounds it can lift one foot in one second, or by any equivalent *work*. The intellectual or moral force of a man is measureable to the extent, and only to the extent, that he 'does things,' which can be described in terms of units of accomplishment."¹

The difficulty of attempting to measure the force of an idea, though it has the potentiality of being transformed into an important social stimulus, is obvious. It is relatively easy to measure the amount of energy contained in a ton of coal, but who would attempt to measure the amount of social energy contained in the doctrines of a Karl Marx, whose theories have been all-important in determining the trend of modern societal development? Perhaps it is this difficulty that accounts for much of the speculative and philosophical nature of the science of sociology at the present time. Sociologists are willing to admit that advance in their field will come with the application of more exacting methodology—possibly through statistical research—and yet in this direction they have as yet accomplished but little. Generalization has been all too unfounded; speculation has been rife—with the result that while much theorizing has been done, tangible and substantiated

results are wanting in most instances. Attempts at exact measurement of social forces, the writers feel, are urgently needed; and it is this belief which has led them to offer the following as an effort in the direction indicated.

The ideas which in this experiment are being regarded as social forces center themselves on the one hand in what is commonly known as "fundamentalism" and on the other in what is usually referred to as the scientific movement. Perhaps the most outstanding exponent and ardent advocate of the former is William J. Bryan. Among the leading formulations of the scientific movement is the doctrine of organic evolution. This is not the place to examine the essential contradictions between fundamentalism and science, or to ask whether an opposition to the doctrine of evolution is a necessary corollary to the fundamentalist beliefs. It need only be pointed out that in Mr. Bryan's opinion the conflict exists. Thus, in a recent exposition of fundamentalism he says:

I venture to assert that the unproven hypothesis of evolution is the root cause of nearly all the dissention within the church. . . . "Liberalism," however you define it, is built upon the guess to which the euphonious name of "evolution" has been given.

And again:

The evolutionary hypothesis is the only thing that has seriously menaced religion since the birth of Christ and it menaces all other religions as well as the Christian religion, and civilization as well as religion,—at least, this is the conviction of a multitude who regard belief in God as the fundamental of all beliefs, and see in Christ the hope of the future.²

When Mr. Bryan ventures, as he frequently does, to appear before a student audience and to openly challenge the doctrines taught in the class room, especially in the class rooms of the pure sciences, he is raising an issue which has to be fought out in the minds of the young men and women who constitute his audiences. Both Mr. Bryan and the teachers whom he thus directly challenges are devoting themselves to the attempt to mould the beliefs of the students, and having stated their cases, both sincerely hope that con-

¹ *The Measurement of Social Forces. Journal of Social Forces, Vol. I, No. 1.*

² *The Forum, July 1923.*

viction in the belief of their respective, and inherently contradictory teachings will follow.

Such an occasion will therefore constitute a situation of the kind we have described at the beginning of this paper: here is the impingement upon the minds of individuals of two opposing forces each of which may rightly be called a social force. The important question then becomes: what is the resultant?

The opportunity to answer this question in a measure was presented to the writers recently with Mr. Bryan's visit to Dartmouth College.³ This occasion was all the more unique since Dartmouth is the one college in this country in which all students during their freshman year are required to take a full semester course in evolution. The course covers the evidences for and against the doctrine. It is to be assumed that at this one institution at least, all members of the three upper classes have the background which would enable them to weigh the arguments for and against opposing beliefs regarding man's creation.

No visitor in recent years had been awaited with more expectancy at Dartmouth than was Mr. Bryan. The topic of his talk, "Science vs Evolution," quite naturally struck a responsive chord in the minds of the students. For a week before his arrival the college paper, *The Dartmouth*, had been framing the issue; and when Mr. Bryan actually appeared every available inch in the college auditorium had been taken. For a week after he had gone, the problems which he had raised were the chief topics of conversation whenever Dartmouth men came together.

In an effort to measure the results of this unusual intellectual upheaval, which obviously included not alone Mr. Bryan's address, but the subsequent discussion as well, the writers submitted to their students the following questionnaire, the introduction of which is intended to be a fair statement of the generally accepted principles of the evolutionary point of view:

With reference to the doctrine that man evolved from lower animal forms in harmony with general principles of organic evolution:

1. I *reject* the doctrine completely.
2. While I do not *reject* it completely I do not believe that the evidence favors it.
3. I am undecided whether to reject or to accept it.
4. While I do not *accept* it completely I believe the evidence favors it.
5. I *accept* the doctrine completely.

³ December 8, 1923.

Those students who heard Mr. Bryan were then asked to indicate which of these statements coincided most nearly with their own beliefs both before and after hearing Mr. Bryan. No classroom discussion was permitted until after the questionnaires had been returned.

Among the students to whom this questionnaire was submitted and all of whom had heard Mr. Bryan, were 39 members of the freshman class, none of whom at the time had taken the compulsory course in evolution. The remainder, numbering 136, were sophomores, juniors and seniors. While the number of cases, a little less than 10 per cent of the entire student body, is not large it may fairly be regarded as an adequate sample of the relatively homogenous college enrollment.

The net results of Mr. Bryan's visit upon the minds of members of the three upper classes may be summarized in the following table:

TABLE I

NET EFFECT OF MR. BRYAN IN CHANGING BELIEFS AMONG SOPHOMORES, JUNIORS AND SENIORS

Belief before hearing Mr. Bryan in the questionnaire	Before hearing Mr. Bryan		After hearing Mr. Bryan		Net change in numbers
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
5	70	51.6	59	43.4	- 11
4	52	38.2	48	35.7	- 4
3	7	5.2	15	11.0	+ 8
2	5	3.7	10	7.3	+ 5
1	2	1.5	4	2.9	+ 2
Total	136	100.2	136	100.3	

Thus before hearing Mr. Bryan, 70 of the men in the above table accepted without reservation the doctrine of organic evolution (Proposition 5). After hearing him this number had been reduced to 59. Before the lecture only two of these men rejected the doctrine completely; after, four men rejected it completely, etc. The column of Net Change shows that a net number of 8 men who were previously on the side of evolution were drawn to a position of doubt; and 7 others were drawn over to the side of non-acceptance.

Some facts of outstanding interest are observed when the above table is compared with the similar returns obtained from the members of the freshman class, who, it should be remembered, had not at the time taken the course in evolution. The freshman table is as follows:

TABLE II

NET EFFECT OF MR. BRYAN IN CHANGING BELIEFS AMONG FRESHMEN

Belief (Before to the five classes in the question no)	Before hearing Mr. Bryan		After hearing Mr. Bryan		Net change in numbers
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
5	5	12.8	4	10.2	-1
4	16	40.9	14	35.9	-2
3	7	17.9	10	25.6	+3
2	6	15.4	6	15.4	0
1	5	12.8	5	12.8	0
Total	39	99.8	39	99.9	

Before hearing Mr. Bryan, 5 members of the freshman group accepted without reservation the doctrine of organic evolution. This number represents 12.8 per cent of the entire freshman group as compared with 51.6 per cent holding similar views in the upper-class group. Similarly, 5 members of the freshman group, 12.8 per cent, rejected the doctrine of evolution without qualifications before hearing Mr. Bryan, as compared with 2 members in the upper-class group, or 1.5 per cent. After hearing Mr. Bryan the number of freshmen accepting the doctrine completely had been reduced from 5 to 4, or to 10.2 per cent. the number rejecting the doctrine completely remained as before, etc.

Here we may call attention to the first of the outstanding results of the inquiry: Partly, it may be presumed, as a result of greater maturity, but in greater part due to their familiarity with the principles of evolution acquired in the compulsory course the percentage of students accepting the doctrine without qualifications was four times greater in the sample representing the upper classes than in the freshman group. Conversely, the percentages of freshmen rejecting the doctrine completely was between eight and nine times as great as the percentage of upper classmen. Moreover, the proportion of freshmen who, while not rejecting the doctrine of evolution completely (before hearing Mr. Bryan) nevertheless believed that what evidence they had did not favor it was four times greater than in the corresponding group representing the upper classmen. Also, as might be expected, the freshman group neither accepting nor rejecting the doctrine was over three times as large proportionately as the corresponding group representing the other classes.

Here, then, is one index of the change of ideas brought about as a result of the impingement of

the scientific point of view upon the student mind. As an indication of the change of ideas brought about by the opposing force represented by Mr. Bryan, however, the above tables do not present a wholly comprehensive summary. The extent of the change becomes clear only when a study is made of the shifts of opinion of the individual men, rather than the net results.

In the following table we have compared the actual number of shifts of opinion indicated in our returns with the number of shifts which theoretically might have occurred within the limited number of categories represented in the questionnaire. For example (within the group of upper classmen) any of the 70 students who accepted Proposition 5 (complete acceptance of evolution) theoretically might have shifted to a qualified belief in evolution, to indecision, to qualified rejection or to total rejection. In any of these cases, the shift would have been *away from* the evolutionist beliefs. He could not in any case (within the categories laid down) have shifted to greater adherence to the doctrine, for the formulation of the question itself would prevent. Similarly, two men who were completely opposed to evolution might become more favorably disposed to it, but could not reject it any more completely. Obviously, the men in opinion classes 2, 3 and 4 might shift in either direction. It will be clear to the reader that ratios between the numbers of actual shifts and the numbers which are theoretically possible will provide the soundest and most significant measures of the forces involved.

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF ACTUAL WITH POSSIBLE SHIFTS IN OPINIONS—BY NUMBER AND PER CENT OF MEN INVOLVED

Direction of shift	Possible changes—Number	Actual changes—Number	Percent, Actual of Possible
<i>Upperclassmen</i>			
Toward evolution	66	5	7.6
Away from evolution	134	32	24.0
Either direction	136	37	27.9
<i>Freshmen</i>			
Toward evolution	34	4	11.8
Away from evolution	34	7	20.5
Either direction	39	11	28.2

This table gives us our second outstanding conclusion: The views of more than one-quarter of Mr. Bryan's hearers were changed substantially as a result of his discussion. Among the larger of the two groups represented in our table, nearly

one-quarter of the men who were not already complete disbelievers in evolutionary doctrine were influenced in the direction which Mr. Bryan intended.

This does not mean, however, that these men were actually converted to Mr. Bryan's views. Some of them (whose views before hearing Bryan were represented by Proposition 2) were already disbelievers in evolution and were merely strengthened in their disbelief, (and hence shifted to a belief in Proposition 1). Likewise, other men who accepted evolution completely before hearing him afterward changed so that their positions coincided with Proposition 4, which is still upon the side of evolution. A complete analysis of the figures makes it necessary to determine how many of the students represented in the samples shifted from acceptance of the doctrine in greater or less degree to a position of uncertainty and how many to a position of rejection in greater or less degree; how many from the position of uncertainty to positions of rejection and acceptance; and how many from positions of rejection to positions of acceptance or uncertainty. This is shown in the following table.

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF CONVERSIONS TO AND FROM ACCEPTANCE, UNCERTAINTY AND REJECTION, WITH PERCENTAGES OF ENTIRE NUMBER IN EACH SAMPLE SO CONVERTED

	Upperclassmen		Freshmen	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Acceptance to uncertainty ..	12	8.8	6	15.4
Acceptance to rejection	4	2.9	0	0.0
Uncertainty to rejection	3	2.2	1	2.5
Uncertainty to acceptance ...	1	0.7	2	5.1
Rejection to acceptance	0	0.0	1	2.5
Rejection to uncertainty	0	0.0	0	0.0
Unconverted (in any category)	116	85.4	29	74.5
Total	136	100.0	39	100.0

Thus, 8.8 per cent of the upperclassmen shifted their position from complete or partial acceptance to a position of uncertainty, etc. From this table it is again clear that the shift in opinion is in the direction of Bryan doctrine, although reversals of opinion are relatively few.

A third conclusion which may be derived from our analysis, therefore, is that Mr. Bryan's appearance on the Dartmouth campus served not so much to create converts as to arouse an attitude of skepticism or caution toward the deductions of the classroom. Whether or not this effect is

transitory or permanent is of course not made evident.

It is obvious that the changes cited above have been arrived at in a manner almost mechanical, and in no way show what occurred in the minds of the students. Interesting as are these tables it is equally clear that their value would be enhanced if they were supplemented by data of a qualitative nature. In the attempt to get at the mental processes involved, the students were requested to append to each questionnaire an anonymous statement giving the writer's impressions of Mr. Bryan and his arguments. We now turn to a general appraisal of these replies:

The first conclusion to be drawn from this qualitative data is that many of the students who were unqualified adherents to the doctrine of evolution before hearing Mr. Bryan were reinforced in their convictions, even though our questionnaire did not permit them to express a quantitative change of opinion in the direction of increased intensity of belief. Thus, in several instances men who recorded themselves as accepting Proposition 5 before, attempted to indicate still greater conviction afterward by recording their beliefs as 5 + or 6, even though this was not permissible within the framework of the questionnaire. Moreover, such comments as the following indicate inclination of the same kind:⁴

The more he talks the better for evolutionary doctrine.

When analyzed (his) statements were so obviously untrue or senseless that they resulted against rather than for his point.

It seems to me that Bryan would throw most students (who are) on the fence to the side of evolution with his old-fashioned ideas of hard-boiled religion, for that is the way I interpreted his religion.

Bryan only strengthened my firm belief in evolution.

It is a great satisfaction to know from personal observation that the great opponent of creative evolution is only a garrulous old man.

It must be admitted that there were a few indications of shifts in the opposite direction by men whose opinions had not undergone any formal change according to our classification.

The second conclusion to be drawn from this qualitative data is that there was almost general

⁴All of the citations which follow in this article are presented with a conscious effort to represent fairly the various points of view which were disclosed. While the writers have not "stacked" these citations so as to achieve an unwarranted effect, they have taken particular pains to represent adequately all opinions favorable to Mr. Bryan's views. The qualitative material which appears below is, if anything, weighted in that direction.

agreement upon the excellence of Mr. Bryan's oratory. Even the most convinced evolutionists among his hearers were frank to express their admiration in this regard. But a third conclusion represents an antithesis to this: there was likewise almost general agreement, even among those who held to his point of view, that Mr. Bryan's argument against evolution did not constitute an example of what to them seemed rational thinking.

These conclusions may be illustrated by the following citations. The first are from the comments of upperclassmen who both before and after hearing Mr. Bryan were unqualified adherents to the views which he attacked:

Bryan is a silver-tongued orator and held the audience not so much by the stating of facts as by ability, taught by long experience, to keep the audience in the proper frame of mind.

Mr. Bryan is a wonderful orator. He got himself out of many a hole through the use of his wit, humor and evasion.

In my opinion, Bryan is a wonderful orator; he has the power to please an audience and arouse their emotions, but these two things do not make him a scientist.

With regard to his argument, we may set in opposition to these citations the comments of freshmen (presumably the least mature of the two groups of students) who, before hearing Bryan, were unqualified *disbelievers* in evolution:

I was very disappointed in Mr. Bryan; although he gave his speech very well his argument, examples and references were not good or sound.

I admire the way he upheld the old sound home teachings about religion. The world needs a little more religion in its makeup. However, I do not think he proved anything except his ability to talk.

Throughout the comments, in fact, the evidence shows that the students almost without exception were able to discriminate between Mr. Bryan's oratorical ability and the logic that he employed. They did not allow his skill in the former to becloud their capacity to think upon the subject in hand. This conclusion may seem inconsistent with the facts, previously pointed out, that many of Mr. Bryan's listeners were changed in their beliefs after hearing him. We can do no more than to point out that where this inconsistency existed, it was usually recognized by the students themselves: Thus,

Bryan is without doubt a great orator and it was his oratory rather than his evidence against evolution that somewhat swayed my opinion.

I do not think that he proved anything. He made me, however, undecided as to the true origin of man.

All of his arguments, I thought, were poor, as they did neither break down the ideas of evolution nor build something better in its place. He did, though, make me undecided.

Now, coming back to the previous point, the following citations give additional evidence of the student's ability to distinguish oratory from reason.

He was very clever to bring in ridicule all through the talk, but I think he rather evaded the issue. . . . In short Bryan did not prove any facts for religion nor did he disprove any of the *facts* of evolution. He was very interesting but hardly instructive.

His speech, which was well delivered, was poor in itself and outside of its emotional appeal very unconvincing. No one would worry about the so-called danger to religion a minute if he had read the speech in a book and not heard Bryan deliver it.

He seemed to me to obscure the real and essential points under a cloud of ridicule and raillery that no doubt pleased the audience but in no way changed our opinions.

Bryan was extremely unfair in his whole argument. In the first place he gave the college to understand that his topic was "Science *vs* Evolution." He knew that he could not get an audience if he had announced that he was to give only the theological arguments against evolution, so he stated that he would combat it from the standpoint of science.

He really proved nothing. Whenever a point arose which tended toward a decisive argument for his opponents he dodged it completely.

His arguments were weak and poorly founded. He seemed to be ridiculing evolution, not arguing against it; or probably he considers this a good way of arguing against it.

Bryan said: "Why base your philosophy of life on a theory you can't prove?" Great Caesar! Is there anything more impossible of proof than the Bible itself and the whole story it tells, both in the old and new testaments?

Vituperation and wit are poor and surely non-convincing substitutions for criticism and argument.

He indulged too much in sarcasm and used wit rather than reason to "get across" to his audience.

Instead of trying to bring up the most salient points of conflict between the fundamentalist and evolutionist points of view, he resorted for the most part to ridicule and sarcasm, at which he is master, but which proves *nothing*.

He does not seem able to get right down to hard cold facts. He is forever wandering about giving little examples that the people think are very good at the time . . . (but which later one realizes) are rather weak.

All of these quotations in one way or another seem to indicate that the students possess intellectual honesty to a considerable degree, a fact

that is further made evident in the following quotations:

He said that a belief in evolution made one agnostic. Even if this were true, its teaching should not be forbidden. How about the search for truth and freedom of speech?

He claimed to have an argument between religion and evolution. Can there be an argument between intelligence and emotion, between fact and feeling?

His whole argument seems to be, "Evolution is wrong because it tends to undermine our faith in God," which after all is no argument at all. It is like saying "Evolution is wrong because it is wrong."

He said that evolution tends to destroy one's belief in a God, especially in a personal God, and that is true; nevertheless, that is a pretty weak argument that evolution is wrong. I had rather laugh at the Bible and believe in evolution than accept unquestioningly a piece of fiction as the truth! How can we accept a thing as true if it will not bear scientific investigation? We have got our minds to think with. Why not try to use them once in a while instead of following a fool like Bryan who says his heart tells him that God is there. He'd better have his heart examined.

Some inkling as to the causes which led more than one-quarter of the men to change their opinions after hearing Mr. Bryan is disclosed in the following citations, which have been prefaced with numerals referring to the propositions in the questionnaire, thus indicating the change which occurred.

(5-4) Although Bryan failed to win me over to his side completely he caused me to reconsider the whole matter and it is through this reconsideration that I intend to draw my final conclusion.

(5-4) He did succeed in showing me that the theory (of evolution) was not absolutely proven, and that there are many loop-holes in it, but he did not succeed in making me give up the theory.

(5-4) He opened up a new door of thought on this subject which I haven't fathomed yet.

(5-4) He did leave me with the impression that evolution had not as yet been proven as fact, but that it is the result of logical reasoning and experimentation.

(5-4) He did not state facts and therefore I do not believe that he proved anything. However, by his sincerity and masterful oratory he brought back to me the feeling that religion holds a very important place in life and is essential to harmony and human welfare. It is this fact which makes me doubt whether evolution is correct in every detail or not.

(5-4) His argument concerning the missing link in the origin of species seemed to me a very strong one.

(5-3) I was impressed by the way he emphasized the fact that it (evolution) was a guess.

(4-5) Under the stimulus of Bryan I really looked into the theory of evolution and was more firmly convinced that it is correct.

(4-5) His feeble attempt convinced me more than ever that evolution was indisputable.

(4-3) He clearly showed that the "facts" of evolution were based merely on resemblances.

(4-2) Bryan's argument cast enough suspicion on the evidence supporting evolution, to make me feel that it was no harder to believe in the miracles of Christ than it was to believe that man was descended from lower life.

(4-2) Bryan convinced me that there was something more to the evolution of man than the mere Darwinian theory.

In view of Mr. Bryan's statement that the chief cause of the antagonism between fundamentalism and evolution lies in the fact that the acceptance of evolutionist doctrines almost inevitably undermines the Christian faith, it is interesting to read some of the comments of the students upon this point. They are by no means in agreement. The following statements are made by some of those who with Bryan hold to the irreconcilability of the two doctrines:

(5-5) I have lost a great deal of the inborn faith at college and I lost some of it in evolution. If this is a menace, why not "put the label" on the course as Bryan suggested, give everyone the facts at the start, and part of Darwin's life. Then teach the course. We will be prepared.

(5-4) I do believe, as he does, that the theories of evolution are degrading to religion. It has expelled a good many of my former beliefs from my mind.

(5-3) One thing which he said was true—evolution has killed any spiritual God that I used to believe in.

(4-4) He had one good argument and that was that evolution in most cases is ruining the students' religion and ultimately lowering their morality. . . . A person should have some sort of religion and this fact must be met in some way.

(3-4) I remain or am confirmed in my agnostic beliefs.

(4-4) When he says that evolution undermines religion, I agree with him completely. And no greater catastrophe could happen to our nation. But Mr. Bryan is not openminded enough to take into consideration that the facts point to the acceptance of the theory of evolution no matter how distasteful they may appear.

As against this point of view may be cited an even larger number of cases in which the entire compatibility of a belief in evolution with a religious belief is stoutly maintained:

(5-5) My experience has been that before I took evolution I was an agnostic. Evolution brought my religion back. To me it is a most Christian doctrine and in no way incompatible with religion. It made religion real to me—a scientific reality at the basis of everything.

(5-5) He did say one thing that I agree with, and that

is, we should come nearer to God and believe in Him more fully. But the question with me is, which form of belief, Bryan's or the evolutionists', leads us nearer to God? I believe the latter by all means, if it is taught in the right way.

(5-5) Bryan believes that man cannot believe in God and evolution. He believes in God as a static influence and that the world is making no improvement. This does not agree with my point of view that God is a constructive influence and that evolution tells of the improvement of both men and animals.

(5-5) He does not seem to realize the fact that evolution stops at a certain point and that evolutionists call from then on upon some force—"and whether we call it God or anything else—what's the difference?"

(5-5) The fact that so many ministers accept the doctrine contradicts Bryan's doctrine that evolution is destroying Christianity.

(5-5) He proved that some professors who believe in evolution were agnostics but that does not prove that the average person who accepts the general theory would become an agnostic. Might not the professors become agnostic because of their scientific attitudes in general and not just through evolution?

(5-5) His major premise seemed to be—evolution destroys Christianity and Christianity is necessary in this world. I believe that this is false. Evolution may destroy the creeds and dogmatic codes of the old religion but out of it will grow a rational religion based on fact and intelligence and reason and love of humanity. This religion will be a much better one than the old, narrow, bigoted one of the past.

(4-5) I believe he is absolutely wrong in saying that acceptance of the doctrine of evolution destroys the Christian principles of morals and liberty. It makes my faith in the heavenly power stronger.

(2-2) It seems to me that evolution augments the facts given in the Bible. It teaches that the world was created in six periods of time, not stating how long. Evolution tells us how it was done.

We believe that the data which has been summarized above, both in its quantitative and its qualitative aspects, presents a fair picture of the results of Mr. Bryan's appeal, regarded as a social force, upon a relatively small, self-contained, homogeneous and critical student body. The results of the same force upon American society in general will be different to the extent that it differs in its psychological constitution from the group dealt with.

Our study shows the strength of the scientific force against the opposing impetus of fundamentalism. (Four-fifths of the Dartmouth upperclassmen remained under the sway of the former). We cannot assume that a similar immediate resultant would be found in society at large. Nevertheless, the history of thought shows that the masses of men ultimately take their views from the educated groups. The world today accepts the doctrines of Galileo even though the masses of men could not prove them; it does so because these doctrines gained the universal acceptance of educated men. Because Mr. Bryan has raised the issue between fundamentalism and science, the great public now for the first time is called upon to pass judgment. For the first time the masses are becoming aware of the views of science upon the problems involved. As long as the issue was not raised, but not longer, was it possible for "water-tight compartments" to exist side by side in the social mind. With the issue now squarely placed before it, there is ample historical precedent for the assumption that the doctrine of evolution will in time be universally accepted by the public.

THE SOUTHERN MILL VILLAGE COMPLEX

The two articles presented in this number of the JOURNAL continue a long series of papers dealing with social and industrial problems and factors centering around the Southern textile industry. The list will be notable, if it is at all, not because of any attempt at brilliant presentation by "distinguished" writers, but because of the simple effort to get at and present the truth now so much wanted and needed. At present there is little knowledge of conditions and little ability to interpret what is known in true perspective, on the part of

1. The Outside Journalist and Investigator. He does not take sufficient time and is interested primarily in presentation and effect rather than in truth alone.
2. The Serious Student. He has not done sufficient investigation, has not had close range experience and observation, and assumes much from theoretical hypothesis.
3. The Mill Owners. They have been too busy with larger developments, have naturally rested on previous assumptions and conditions in many cases, and have not used a comprehensive method of study.
4. The Labor Group. They have been too busy with specialized activities, have rested on many assumptions, and have not been adequately trained for social judgments.
5. The General Public. They are not actively interested, make casual observations only and generally tend to believe whatever they see in print or hear from word of mouth.

So much for the program of study and search after facts. On the side of "interpretation" The JOURNAL will emphasize at least two objectives resulting from an adequate supply of facts:

1. The objective of developing and maintaining the spiritual and social growth of industry on a par with the material and economic progress so notable everywhere. The social and human factors in industry and in modern civilization in general.
2. The objective of lessening the misunderstanding on the part of the two groups—the employer group and the employee group—with reference to the fundamental facts of industry and social relationships.

These themes are not new. Nor is there difference of opinion as to the desirability of attaining such ends. There will, nevertheless, be various severe criticisms arising from the presentation of facts and estimates. One group has insisted that The JOURNAL is an apologist for the whole employer group only. Others have ascribed motives of hostile criticism and of radical policies. None of these criticisms will affect the facts. The pity of it is that both facts and interpretations will not be seen in their perspective. Mr. Heiss, who is President of the Southern Textile Social Service Association, writes of conditions and historical developments which he knows to be true within the range of his observation and study of the best mill villages in North Carolina. He knows and says there are exceptions. Mrs. Nichols writes of conditions which she knows existed within the limited range of her first hand study and observations, which have been made, for the most part, in a limited section of the lower South. She knows and says there are exceptions.—THE EDITORS.

I. THE SOUTHERN COTTON MILL VILLAGE: A VIEWPOINT

M. W. HEISS

THE TRANSITION of the cotton mill industry in the South from its humble and somewhat halting beginning to its present state, in which emphasis is placed upon forward looking programs, has naturally been accompanied by many problems of great difficulty. Few topics have been discussed more frequently and with more varied viewpoints than have these difficulties incident to the development of the cotton mill village. Many discussions have been good, many have been superficial, many have been based upon incomplete and wrong information. Few real studies and interpretations of actual conditions have been made. Nor is this present paper intended to be more than an introductory statement. But because of the importance of the

whole subject, because of the keen interest being manifested and because many aspects of the subject ought to be presented, this brief statement is offered for what it is worth.

The people who were destined to become the mill workers of the South were the "poor whites," a people descended from the best blood of the country—but, quoting Mr. D. A. Tompkins in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, "They were dispossessed not only of progressive occupation but of participation in the larger life of the section. From the time that cotton began to control until after the period of reconstruction, these people lapsed into the background." They were not land owners, they took little or no part in the affairs of their section, and they were gen-

erally uneducated. It was about this time that the expression "poor white trash," which has now happily passed, came into use. Even the slaves were prone to look with disgust upon the "poor whites."

This situation, however, was not directly due to the people constituting this class, but to the historical, social and entire economic condition of the South. Among the masses of poor whites were the usual hundreds of honest, God-fearing people who were victims of the one-phased economic condition prevalent before Reconstruction. There were no free schools for them to attend and the other schools cost money which they did not possess; hence despite the splendid blood which flowed in their veins, existing conditions forced them into unfortunate circumstances. Growing weaker under the overwhelming forces militating against them they naturally lost their former self-confidence and some were willing to reconcile themselves to a certain type of social ostracism.

From these groups were recruited the greater number of mill employees. It is true that some of the land owners and a few of the South's own aristocracy worked, at least for awhile, in the mills, but the cases were exceptional, and the masses of the mill employees of today are largely recruited or descended from the poor whites of the pre-reconstruction days.

EXPANSION AND CHANGE

As the mills grew, more people were attracted to mill work and a gradual reaching out into larger districts became necessary. Shacks were built around the factories to house the people; for, due to the sparsely settled conditions of these sections, there were no houses to rent and the employees themselves were unable financially to build their own homes. The houses built were necessarily cheap structures and the groups of homes that soon became known as the "Mill Village" were naturally primeval and in a short time became also unkempt and unsanitary. Nevertheless the physical conditions existing in these first villages were at least equal to those in the immediate past environments of the inhabitants. The mill owners were greatly handicapped, first, by having limited funds in entering a new field of industry in a territory unaccustomed to industrial activity; and, secondly, by competing to an ex-

tent with a section whose very life was built around manufacturing plants; and thirdly, by lack of experience and training. They were pioneer entrepreneurs.

Again, the people in these villages, not infrequently, because they knew no better, were satisfied with their surroundings. They seemed not to care whether their premises were clean, and, with only a few exceptions, they were not interested in education, sanitation or in adequately developing themselves or their children. Hence in the beginning, the mill village was often in reality an eyesore. The people who had formerly been looked down upon as the "poor whites" and called "poor white trash" began to be known as "factory bats," "mill hands" and "lint heads." Isolated formerly in their poverty-ridden homes, they were looked down upon by the plantation owners; there is, therefore, no wonder that when grouped into a community they became socially ostracized as such. The fact that many of the first employees of the mills were negroes, possibly accounts for something also of the past general tendency to look down upon the inhabitants of the mill villages.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT

The southern mills soon flourished, profits began to accrue, due to many reasons, paramount among which stands the inherent sturdiness and adaptability of the operatives. The management and owners of the mills were after a time in position to develop the mill village. What induced the mill owners to spend such a vast amount of their profits on such an unproductive unit? Was it necessary? The mill owners must have realized that in order to continue to grow they must first develop their employees. They knew that the efficiency of their organization must be dependent upon the efficiency of the entire personnel of their workers; so without compulsion they studied their operatives and learned that these people were victims of erroneous ideas of the old South, that they had the blood of a sturdy intelligent people and that through education, proper living conditions and encouragement they could become a big factor in making the manufacture of cotton products a more profitable business in the South. The past decade has proved that this theory was correct. Through the mill villages the owners have prospered and at the

same time have developed a people who fifty years ago were figuratively asleep. Regardless of whether the mill village was necessary or expedient, a purely selfish enterprise or a result of farsighted southern men interested in the poor whites, sufficient evidence exists to indicate that the southern cotton mill village has been one of the most influential factors in developing the New South.

The rise of the textile South has been most marked by its substantiality. She has not risen through the favorable factors of any particular business or political cycle, nor has her development been the result of a parasitic growth of wars, but she has built her prosperity upon the solid foundation of a rising people and the scientific development of her resources. Few realize with what rapidity the mill people have risen because few have taken the time to study the effects of the many forces that have been employed in the mill communities. Many recollect only the villages as they were in the early years of the present century; others have formed their impressions by hearsay or by observing a few of the old-fashioned communities that yet remain as relics of the past; while still others undertake to make judgments on partial evidence.

The new mill village—the modern village—is the result of a steady growth from the few houses first built around the factories. These first houses were all constructed alike, varying in no respect. When they were painted they were all painted alike. The streets, after replacing the paths, were similar to each other and the houses were naturally built equi-distant on these streets. The entire villages were made up of units, all units being alike. Few churches, no schools, nor playgrounds existed within the mill premises. The people had little time or desire for recreation or diversion. Education seemed to them a farce, a luxury, something for rich people. They were content to exist, entertaining themselves as they had previously entertained themselves. The first mill villages certainly presented a dismal but true picture of the condition into which the South had forced some of her best people.

In assembling these people as employees in their factories, the owners were confronted with the intricate problem of manufacturing a marketable fabric with unskilled, inexperienced and un-

educated labor. Some few soon saw the solution, however, and despite adverse criticism, these executives established schools and departments of welfare in their villages. They today have been many times repaid for their endeavors both financially and by the esteem in which they are held by their employees. They blazed the way for other mills, who lost little time in recognizing the essential force of the social service side of cotton manufacturing and can now attribute their success largely to their splendid villages, adequate welfare and educational systems and the substantial progress of their employees.

MELANCHOLY IN ASPECT

The monotonous villages are becoming extinct, houses designed to meet human needs and to give an artistic effect are rapidly replacing the crude huts of the old communities. Few of the newer mills now paint two dwellings adjoining each other the same color. Practically all villages have electric lights and adequate water and sewerage system. The streets are well kept, drained, and shaded. Trees, shrubs and flowers adorn the premises. Many villages have parks, swimming pools, community and Y. M. C. A. buildings, greenhouses, etc. The modern village really present an artistic picture, one that is conducive to a happy, healthy life. The physical appearance of the modern mill village needs no defense, but this physical appearance is the result of only a small, indispensable part of the mill village program. It is merely an index of that which is taking place within the hearts and minds of the people. The atmosphere created through the many educational and social forces is reacting upon the body, mind and soul of the entire people. The school system, usually supported in part by the mills, is efficient and up-to-date. The principals and teachers are well prepared and amply remunerated for their services. In many cases they are paid even better than the county and city schedules allow, for their duties entail upon them many phases of community and social service, requiring of them an unusual amount of visiting and extra study. They strive to see that each child finishes the grammar grades before reaching a working age.

MANY HELPFUL AGENCIES

Parent-Teacher associations have sprung into existence in the mill villages in the past few years

and the interest manifested by the parents seems to surpass in many instances that in the average association in the city schools. The parents furnish their own officers and plan their own programs and are affiliated with the state associations and the city councils. Many of these associations have increased the school facilities with funds raised by giving suppers, entertainments, etc. The people in the factory towns are beginning to realize that the school is their own, as is exemplified by the unusual amount of school pride that now exists. To sum it all up, the regular school system of the cotton mill community appears to this writer as satisfactory in every respect, comparing most favorably with other systems.

The educational program, however, does not stop with the regular schools, for these deal only with the child. Night schools of all kinds have grown to be quite numerous throughout the textile villages of the South. Illiteracy has been practically eliminated in many of the villages, and adults, products of the reconstruction period, can for the first time sit down at night and read a newspaper. This alone is recompense for the money and time utilized in this work. But the real merit is recognized when one observes the self-assurance these adults develop while pursuing their courses and the great pleasure experienced by them in learning with, and in some cases, in assisting their children in school work. Part time schools are also entering the educational program, furnishing the opportunity of better educating the boys and girls who have, either by necessity or choice, gone to work before completing their school courses.

Prominent among the meritorious organizations existing are the vocational night schools. Vocational teachers are instructing the employee to plan and understand his work and to increase his earnings. This training fills him with ambition, making him a better citizen and more satisfactory employee.

TRAINED SOCIAL WORKERS

Hand in hand with educational progress is the activity of the trained social workers whose mission is as important and whose accomplishment is as valuable to the people, the mill and the South. Through their untiring efforts the housewife learns the true significance of the home. She learns true food values, how to preserve her

fruit and vegetables, how to spend money most economically, how to make her home more attractive and how to obtain the best results in her domestic duties. The growing girls are taught to make their clothes, no longer are they ignorant of harmony of colors or the attractiveness of proper proportion. These girls are being taught to realize the seriousness of married life, and the sacredness of the home. Through their clubs, both the purely social and the Girl Scout type, they are acquiring dignity and refinement. Such activities may well be compared with the farm and home demonstration of rural communities.

The boys' activities are centered around the Y. M. C. A., community buildings and playgrounds. These men of tomorrow are taught to be self-reliant, honest and trustworthy. The leaders in these different organizations interest themselves principally in filling the spare time of the boy and girl, the man and woman, with good wholesome recreation and diversion. Community singing, village pageants, lawn and park parties, local talent plays, athletic meets, swimming contests and camping trips are some of the many activities in which the people engage. The workers endeavor to develop the artistic side everywhere and special attention is given those possessing particular talent. Music teachers are now numerous in the mill villages. Their time is divided among all classes of people and splendid results have followed their efforts. Quite a large percentage of the chorus in a successful music festival occurring annually in a progressive southern town has been gathered from textile workers.

Many textile manufacturers are employing registered nurses to assist the doctors in caring for the health of the people. In cases of sickness they see that their patients are properly nursed; at other times they use their influence and knowledge in teaching the correct care of babies, proper sanitation and such other health subjects as are necessary to enable the people to enjoy health and happiness. Some mills have gone so far as to establish free medical and dental clinics. Every effort is expended to eradicate diseases and promote cleanliness of the body and the mind.

THE CHURCH TO THE FORE

The church occupies a most prominent part among the activities of the village. Usually the churches are located in the center of the com-

munity, and regardless of their particular creed or denomination, are encouraged and at times assisted by the mill management. The people employ their own preachers and in every way conduct their institutions according to their own ideas and doctrines.

A few of the many factors at work for progress in the mill village in the South have been mentioned. Naturally some of the villages are better than others and there remain a few that exist as relics of the past. Some mills have stressed certain points in their social betterment program whereas others have seemed to think that different undertakings would prove more beneficial. However, the general outline of mill village social service work throughout the entire textile South has been practically the same.

What has been gained? And what comes next? are two big questions. In answering the first, the South has gained a tremendous industry; she has accumulated wealth and has developed a people. Dr. S. C. Mitchell strikes the keynote of the situation when he says: "The mills are the special line of ascent of the people of the South." Any just comparison between the modern mill village of the South and the localities from which the employees were recruited will give some idea of the great accomplishment of the textile centers. The present census figures obtainable from various sources in regard to health, illiteracy, etc., are gratifying to those interested in textile operatives. The death rates in the mill villages are very low, and strange as it may seem, late statistics in North Carolina show that the percentage of deaths from tuberculosis in the textile mill village is much lower than that in practically all of the other industries in the state.

COMPARISONS INVITED

In order to realize the advantages offered by the southern textile centers, a study should be made of the living conditions in other industrial centers. Compare the places in which the people live and compare these people themselves, with the inhabitants of southern mill villages. Which are happier, healthier and which make the better citizens? Compare the southern mill village with the villages in England where industrial labor has been in existence for ages. Compare the circumstances of the average mill operative with those of his relatives or friends who remained as

tenant farmers or continued in their menial occupations. If just comparisons are made there is but one conclusion to be reached and that is the southern cotton mill village has proved to be a civilizing and elevating social force. It has within the scope of a very short time elevated an entire people, and in doing so has contributed largely to the substantial rise of the South from the financial and industrial standpoint. With this viewpoint we may well look to the future with a clean cut desire to make as few mistakes as possible.

In a sense the modern southern cotton mill is a university. In the mill and its environs hundreds of persons receive invaluable training, they are spiritually enriched by objective and subjective influences; they are given advantages which surely broaden their lives and qualify them for increasingly larger duties and privileges. These advantages have not been wholly unrelated to paternalism, but it is also true that paternalism has been a basic factor in the growth of the cotton mill villages of the South. Gradually, under the careful processes that have characterized the development of the workers and their families, the horizon of these people has expanded. Today the appellation, "poor whites" has no place whatever in textile centers. The people are now doing things for themselves, for instance in the development of the cultural side of their nature, which would not have been possible without the somewhat paternalistic stirring of those ambitions through past decades. They are great Americans, and the owners have had no small part in infusing into their consciousness the determination to press forward to great and solid achievements.

NEW ERA OF DEVELOPMENT

The mill executives realize that a new era of development is before them, and they are looking to the future, fully aware that paternalism has practically served its purpose and are ready and willing to put aside this practice which has been a cycle, a stage and a process necessary to development, just as they discarded the hand loom for the automatic.

Should the mill executive sell the mill village houses and let his mill labor live where they will? At this point a false idea which seems generally to exist should be corrected. The writer knows of no textile industry that forces its employees to

live within the limits of its village. So long as the operatives come to work on time, perform their duties satisfactorily and are satisfied, the mill management does not object to their living outside of the confines of their property. Many do live outside of the mill village, but in the main they send their children to the mill schools. Quite a number of mill people own their own homes on the outskirts of the villages, and some possess farms and other property but still they prefer the social advantages of the mill community.

If it were possible for the entire personnel to own or rent homes away from the mill village and to continue to maintain the same standard of efficiency and keep the same hours of work, which are the same as the hours of practically all southern industries, no objection would be offered. This alone would enable the stockholders to cash in from one-sixth to one-fourth of their entire capitalization. But if a mill should sell its village to the employees, in a very short time real estate dealers would have possession of a large portion and would sell it to the highest bidders and the employees of the mill would be forced to pay high and possibly extortionate rentals. Their children might, and then might not have access to proper schools and other social service facilities which have been so instrumental in developing them. Inter-marriage with people other than cotton mill employees might result but there would be no gain for the mill business is so diversified in the occupations that it affords a great many normal trades such as weavers, electricians, mechanics, chemists, carpenters, day laborers, and spinners. The gradual change of the public attitude toward the mill employees has been most conspicuous and the time is not distant when inter-marriage with those of other vocations will

be more frequent. There is a marked increase discernable now, many incidents can be cited on this point.

TRUE PROGRESS REFLECTED

Evidences are numerous that the South has reinstated into her citizenship the "poor whites" of pre-reconstruction days. The expression "factory bats" or even "mill hands" ceases to be heard and the inhabitants of the textile districts are respected by all. Many are in excellent financial condition, owning real estate, bonds, stocks, etc. Automobiles, victrolas, books and radio sets are generally owned by the people. The children instead of having the wan appearance usually considered characteristic of mill people, are healthy and happy. One need only spend a short time in the village to appreciate fully the good health of the people, to recognize their alertness and their growing confidence in themselves. Nor does this mean that conditions can not and will not be improved; for this is the very spirit of the "best minds" in this field.

The mill managers are awake to the future. They will not content themselves with present accomplishments, nor do they believe that the system, methods, or in fact the organization can remain unaltered and meet the needs and demands of the future. New methods of recognizing merit and efficiency of employees are now being introduced. Industrial democracy and similar systems are being tried by southern mill executives. Adjustments and changes will continue to be made by the southern cotton mills and they will be made with the purpose of best serving employee and employer. These adjustments and changes, however, must come gradually and after thorough testing. And they must come from and through those who know and really understand conditions.

II. DOES THE MILL VILLAGE FOSTER ANY SOCIAL TYPES?

JEANNETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS

ANY FAIR analysis of mill villages today must take into consideration the mill villages of yesterday and the spiritual and economic aspects of both. Especially is this true of those in the lower south: their peculiar attributes are such that they baffle the understanding unless one studies their origin and thus discovers the determiners of their present characteristics.

I

The cotton mill villages of the south gained their impetus from a phenomenon known as the cotton mill campaign which flourished for several years beginning in 1879. The southerners just then had been freed from the last civil and military agents of Reconstruction and were left to try their strength and assert white supremacy.

They set to work to rehabilitate their section by a correlation of its resources, using the supplies of raw materials, of white labor, and of water power to attain prosperity. In this discussion we are chiefly concerned with the factor of labor. The poor whites, Anglo-Saxons descended from some of the nation's founders and defenders, popularly termed "dirt eaters" in North Carolina, "sandhillers" in South Carolina, and "crackers" in Georgia, had been slowly suffering starvation on the farms and in the hills. When the cotton raising industry had thrust them aside early in the nineteenth century, preferring plantations to mills, and cheaper labor of a darker hue, they had been left without employment and had drifted into the role of nomad tenant farmers.

Upon them the reign of King Cotton, the war, and Reconstruction, had heaped such an insuperable economic and social load that 1879 found them the dependents of the country storekeepers and the forgotten of society. The southern leaders who then were taking upon themselves the task of restoring the economic, political and social life of their respective communities knew that the new regime could not afford the loss of thousands of unskilled white laborers. So the Cotton Mill Campaign was started with its outstanding argument, if not object, in the necessity of employment to the poor whites; and cheap water power, closeness to raw material, cheap labor, home markets and competition with New England, northern factories, as other arguments. They, in the aggregate, started the wheels of scores of cotton mills in rural communities. This community movement warmed to all the fervor of a crusade and exhibited many of the phenomena of revivals, with more than one earnest divine successfully exhorting his congregation as did he who thus proclaimed the truth:¹ "Next to religion, Salisbury needs a cotton factory."

While the southerners were thus boldly and successfully defying certain economic laws in building an industry over night, they were displaying similar resourcefulness in solving the problems of leadership for that industry. They simply called upon persons of community prestige, doctors, lawyers, jurists, merchantmen and agriculturists, to forsake all others and follow the fortunes of the local mill by devoting their tal-

ents to its management. These apostles of the new era soon found that their lack of experience was largely offset by natural economic advantages pertaining to the southern mills. For this reason they were soon able to add to their prestige as public benefactors that of successful financiers. However, their new occupation could not change at once the personalities which had developed in the old. They and their associates perforce took with them into the cotton mill business "the intense individualism of an agricultural people and some of the didacticism of the professions."² And these traits, emphasized by a strong sense of public benefaction, naturally made them paternalistic toward their workers; they could not think of themselves as under contractual obligations to them. On the other hand, the workers were naturally dependent because of their "entire newness to the demands of progressive living. . . . Sometimes the people brought with them little besides bad habits and a total dependence upon the management for moral care and physical upbuilding."³ The coming of later generations of operators and workers has emphasized, rather than modified, this paternalism—it is rooted in the feudalistic soil of the south and is present in many other institutions beside the cotton mill. But there in particular it has ample expression and even now is being put to the proof for its justification. Southern mill owners themselves are now raising the question of the effects of paternalism upon the well-being of their industry.

The poor white felt that he was being emancipated from the farm, which had bound him to the storekeeper with ever lengthening chains of debt, and freed for work in the mill, which promised to let him see more hard cash in the family's weekly wage than in many a month of their combined toil upon the money crop. The change would greatly increase his income from his older children, because, as long as the rapid expansion of the mills kept them making coarse yarns rather than fine cloth, they required little skill of their workers; and, to people of agricultural habit, child labor was necessary and proper, in fact part of the mores. For the rest of the family the mill

¹ Quoted from an article by G. W. Johnson, editor of the Greensboro (N. C.) *News in the Survey*, 50:20-2, April, 1923.

² *Ibid.* These early origins are splendidly explained by Broadus Mitchell in *Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* (Baltimore, 1921); other important commentators are Holland Thompson, in *From Cotton Field to Cotton Mill* (N. Y., 1906) and *The New South* (1921); and A. Kohn in *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina* (New Haven, 1907).

³ Mitchell, pp. 170-1.

provided a better and more attractive school than ever struggled to maintain its existence on a hillside. Furthermore, life as a villager caught the imagination of those whose gregarious instincts had been left unsatisfied by life as isolated farmers. They craved companionship.⁴ So the country people went to live around the mills in the houses built for them, necessarily, by the management, and the mill village sprang into being. Altogether, the roseate prospects gave the mill owners a flood of laborers to satisfy their industrial ambitions and altruistic instincts, and the poor whites an agreeable change. The relationships thus established have been most interesting in all their effects and in some quite peculiar.

II

Economically, the southern cotton mills have flourished to such an extent as to raise the question of New England's future prosperity. Magazines and newspapers are publishing comments under such headings as "Cotton Mills Going South" and the *Southern Textile Bulletin* has been widely quoted to the effect that the 1930 census will register the change of location of the center of cotton manufacturing from north to south. The figures quoted from it are as follows:⁵

	TOTAL NUMBER OF SPINDLES			
	1919	1920	1921	1922
North	19,600,000	19,900,000	20,000,000	20,000,000
South	14,814,000	15,239,000	15,902,000	16,150,000
North's advantage .	4,786,000	4,661,000	4,098,000	3,850,000
GAIN 1919-1922				
North	400,000			
South	1,336,000			
South's advantage .	936,000			

We are not here concerned with the problem of how long the shift may be postponed by the specialization of the south in unskilled labor and the coarser products. At any rate as long as the Carolina or Georgia or Alabama manufacturer pays the Anglo-Saxon laborers less than the New England manufacturer needs to pay his French-Canadians, Italians, Portuguese and Poles, the mill below the Mason and Dixon line stands at an advantage.

Socially, the position of the southern mill is less

secure. The social forces undermining the industrial structure are as deleterious in their possible effects as difficult in their evaluation. Partial progress toward an understanding of them is made if one takes into account not only the heredity of the employing and employed classes but also their present environment—the mill village. The village, which was originally adopted into mill economy because of the rural and impoverished condition of the labor supply, has been retained into the present because of the inertia of employees and the amplification of paternalism by the employers. Thus, life at some mills has become thoroughly institutionalized while at others the social program of the management has evolved in less detail. The wide scope of these programs is suggested by statistics from *Cotton*, the organ of the trade. That periodical submitted, October, 1921, statistics based upon a questionnaire of 1920 as follows:

Percentage of mills having own	
villages	89
schools	49
textile classes	19
industrial Y. M. C. A.	10
Y. W. C. A.	14
hospitals	15
first aid	43
lunch rooms	9
domestic science classes	29
gardens	56
brass bands	27
baseball clubs	63
motion pictures	24
general stores	27

In the face of figures it seems that the mill villager is vastly favored. The operators and their welfare workers have vastly improved the external appearance of many villages by encouraging neatly swept streets and yards and better housekeeping, by providing health centers, community houses and playgrounds. The tenements are less bulky and bare than formerly—now one or two family cottages are being built. Almost without exception houses are equipped with sewage facilities, electric lights and running water; and are let out at the nominal rent of twenty-five cents to one dollar per room per week, with the accompanying privilege of purchasing fuel from the company at reduced prices. There is reason to believe also that the company stores now maintain prices not above normal.

⁴ For a vivid and recent picture of the life of the "poor whites" in mountain and lowland sections see *Rural Children in Selected Counties of North Carolina*, by F. S. Bradley and M. A. Williamson, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau, 1918.

⁵ For example, from the *Literary Digest*, 76:81, February 24, 1923.

Moreover, although each villager's cottage is identical in color, size and plan with that of some of his neighbors and there probably is another family living in the other half of it, the roof does not leak, as is the propensity of roofs above the heads of millmen outside the village; and the toilet facilities are less promiscuous than those of a non-villager; and the porch may have a flower-box, perhaps, although no member of his family chose the kind of seeds planted in it. Besides, each villager can see movies at a nominal charge or none at all, in a hall maintained by his employer; his wife and daughters may take lessons in sewing and cooking at the community house: clubs are organized at the same center to develop the social instincts of the entire family; and they are put to little trouble in the matter of choice of any of these things. The things are there for the benefit of the workers and they may take them or leave them.

Those welfare specialists with whom the writer⁶ has been able to form contacts state that they frequently do leave them, and that the welfare workers must wrack their brains to keep them from doing so. They are particularly discouraged over their efforts to raise the standards of homekeeping. Inspection of the houses of the commoner portions of such communities shows warrant for their anxiety because there is where the worker is seen at the greatest disadvantage. It may be that on this porch the bedding liberated to the sun's helpful rays is cleaner or more whole than on that. But except for such slight differences as these, the home exteriors of the unskilled class vary little in degrees of depressiveness.

Individuality expressed in interior decorations or furniture is another thing to seek. Within, one finds the crude stop-gaps of the unskilled life—bare, often unswept, floors, their space dominated by two or three beds in each ill-ventilated room; walls covered with calendars, enlarged pictures and magazines suggesting the sensationalism which the lives of the occupants lack; the family shelf lurid with varieties of patent medicines whose appeal has been effective for the credulous, careless and vacillating; mantles borrowed with the perennial and work-easing snuff

boxes. Sometimes a few books litter a table in a corner; and again a talking machine or an installment piano lightens the gloom considerably.

Perhaps it is quite idle to expect either the physical or the mental energy for attractive home-making in families all of whose members over sixteen are employed from ten to twelve hours per day or night in a six day week, attending spindles and other pieces of machinery in a linty atmosphere.⁷ When such persons have an hour for recreation or rest they avoid effort; their spare time for pleasure is spent on simple, crude diversions, less immoral than unmoral. Their sleeping hours are spent in bedrooms crowded with beds and their occupants, sometimes indiscriminately men, women, boys, and growing girls and boarders. The windows to these rooms are more frequently and widely opened than they used to be, since the mill management has hired hygiene workers; but the rural prejudice of ignorant folk against night air is obstinate.

The diet of the mill worker is largely fried foods, purchased and prepared uneconomically. What other dishes, indeed, can the small girl, or the weary mother, with their limited energy, patience and knowledge, prepare? Moreover the climate and food costs discourage baking in any but a hasty manner. The task of keeping house more often than not devolves upon someone considered unfit for the mill work in which the rest of the family engages. Thus the least capable village types, especially at low-paying mills, are left with the responsibility for the maintenance of the dwelling, and, to a large extent, the health of its occupants.⁸ The effects of this division of labor are evident in the broken families, the sallow faces and undernourished, ill-clad bodies, of the workers and their children.

This distribution of the functions in the domestic economy is one reason why the mill villages cannot breed enough workers to supply the industry in prosperous times in spite of the fact that they do not leave for other industries. Born of parents living under the conditions and environment described, the offspring cannot be robust. They seem to be as numerous as is possible with mill working mothers, and statistical

⁶ The writer bases this discussion upon facts under her personal observation, and that of others closely associated with her, as well as the printed material available on this topic at the present time.

⁷ For a careful survey of wages and hours of labor in representative cotton mills of the South see the Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, 15:589-95, Sept., 1922.

⁸ For data on pellagra incidence in Southern cotton mill villages see the *Public Health Service Reports*, v. 35, No. 28, containing a special investigation by J. Goldberger, G. A. Wheeler, and Edgar Sydenstricker.

evidence might show a correlation here with child mortality. At any rate, it is commonly observed that the survivals, untrained in restraint or control, in turn marry young and have early families. Must not old age and the cessation of economic usefulness come early to these people? Where the older ones have yielded to the temptation to exploit their children, that is, where the family as an institution has been steadily undermined by the conditions of mill life, their reward tends to be a forgetfulness of duty on the part of their children. Further, the second generation lacks the economic ability to care for the first and this fact is recognized by those mills which are giving small pensions to old employees.

One would prefer not to believe that such is the home atmosphere of the general run of cotton mill laborers; but the present lack of statistics on this point leaves us with but the record of the observations of the many southerners and few northerners interested. They are not unanimous by any means but agree to an amazing extent upon essentials, one of the most important being the tendency of mill life to lower the scale of family living.

Besides the factors already noted there are others tending to show that the individualistic type of person cannot well survive in the village environment. It is noticeable that when southern writers, sociologists and historians alike, describe the various industries of their section, they are able to dispose of the cotton business with fewer "exceptions" and more "in generals" than the other occupations. The reason, obviously, lies in the relative lack of variables in the industry. Further examination of it takes us from externals to the less obvious and more debatable in an attempt to make a qualitative analysis of other vital factors in the lives of the people of the village which determine their behavior. Have they such additional similarities traceable to their common mode of life as would justify us in describing the majority of them as a "type"?

III

Society today acts on the theory that education is a social force of great power in molding the race. Then how does education function in the mill village? Does it standardize or originate?

The native ability of the poor white who came from the farm to the village had been obscured

by generations of extreme illiteracy. His children, born in and of the mill village have gained more education than he because of improved schools and compulsory education laws.⁹ But certain conditions at the mill and in the village tend to blunt the educational knife. For example, many mothers work in a mill practically up to the time of a child's birth, go back to it an astonishingly short time thereafter, and leave his wants to be cared for by an older, but still little, sister. She may do remarkably well under the circumstances; but, herself supposed to be at school part of the time, and quite untaught in the essentials of child care and feeding, she can't do a good job. The result is that it is a poorly-cared-for, undernourished child that falls into the hands of the school teacher. With such a background and lack of equipment, many of his sort stumble along, behind the age standard. Pride as well as pocketbook under such circumstances welcome release from a low grade at the moment of working age. Envy of others already receiving a wage envelope does the same thing to the chances for higher education. So, the child of the millworker fulfills his destiny and falls into the ranks of the slightly educated, unskilled, retarded, laborers of the cotton industry.¹⁰

Let us examine a less ordinary, a less typical case. Suppose parents in adversity who "have known better days," and who therefore have endowed their son, or daughter, with more active mentality. Or suppose the mother stays out of the mill longer or the sister knows more about babies, or the teacher is not so burdened with pupils as to be unable to encourage native ability in the more promising, or the mill management, as in parts of North and South Carolina is genuinely interested in developing leadership among employees. What may happen under any one of these conditions? The child, having better endowment and training and more of family life will go further in school before he starts mill work to help support the family. His more evident native ability and greater ambition will

⁹ The leading cotton mill states in the South, listed according to their place in the industry, have adopted compulsory education laws as follows: North Carolina, 1907; South Carolina, 1915; Georgia, 1916; Alabama, 1915; Virginia, 1908. The federal statute was opposed by southern manufacturers on the grounds of state rights as well as labor supply. Recent labor educational legislation was reviewed in Bureau of Education, *Bulletin* 1919, No. 13, by W. R. Hood.

¹⁰ For facts regarding the educational status of the southern cotton mill village see Bureau of Education *Bulletin*, 1919, No. 6, by H. W. Foght.

either make him a foreman and skilled worker in the mill or they will thrust him out of that regime entirely. As a foreman, he will become a member of the "better class" of mill people.

If on the other hand he is thrust out of the mill village, what is the process? There is an unwritten law on this point in force at many places, a law subject to dispute for lack of quantitative statistics and one on which we need far more information.¹¹ This law is to the following effect. The cost to the owners of construction and maintenance of mill villages with social programs is immense. This benevolence does not pay unless mill workers are the ones to enjoy it. Consequently the working members of families resident in the village are expected to fill available places in the mill. If they do not fit into this regime, if they let out their labor elsewhere, it is considered only fair that they should leave the house in the village. Thus does the ambition of a millman's offspring come to be confined within the four walls of a house. Where this process is used, the mill village simply purges itself of its undesirables, those who vary from the established norm, who have an initiative and imagination which seek different work. Of those who remain one southern student of repute¹² has written: "the monotonous routine introduced so early into their lives has a tendency to hinder mental development, though teachers differ upon this point. . . . Certainly the power of initiative is lessened." Would it then appear that, in a strict economic sense, the immediate welfare of a mill suffers by any liberal education of its workers? Are they best adapted to their calling by a thoroughly limited plan of schooling?

Many manufacturers apparently believed so, judging by their opposition to the federal compulsory education law. Some others, on the contrary, now cooperate in the maintenance of textile industrial schools with the purpose: "To find, train, Christianize and prepare leaders for the 500,000 cotton mill population in the South."¹³

IV

The chances for diversification of type in the

¹¹ Exceptions to it have not thus far come within the purview of the writer, but it is not intended to imply here that such exceptions are non-existent. The object here is simply to present the information available.

¹² Holland Thompson, *From Cotton Field to Cotton Mill*, p. 230.

¹³ Statement credited to D. E. Camak, president of the Saxon Mills, near Spartanburg, S. C., *Bureau of Education Bulletin*, 1919, No. 6, p. 10.

southern mill village are lessened further by the fact that variation of race stock does not enter. As noted, the workers are Anglo-Saxon, descended from the "people who made the country." This means that they are not selected immigrants from European shores, actuated by sufficient daring and ambition to break old ties and seek strange lands. Rather are these Anglo-Saxons the opposite. Like their fathers and grandfathers they work in the mill, moving, it is true, but always to another mill, populated by people like themselves with the same outlook on life and the same permanence in the occupation. In basal traits they are relatively uniform; and as a group they still bear the marks of the isolation which arrested the development of their native ability. Once in the mills, there is little opportunity for an admixture with Latin or Slavic or other temperaments to produce variables, because the manufacturers oppose infiltration by such elements as have unionized northern mills. They consider themselves better friends of their workers than labor organizers or government inspectors.

Those in his field prefer, rather, to compete among themselves for the limited supply of white labor indigenous to the South. It is partly for this reason that they have subsidized social activities, hoping to attract those whose desire to enter the cotton industry decreases as wages elsewhere and better roads and means of communication (made possible by the increase in taxable property created by cotton and other mills) increase. The southern cotton manufacturers' opposition to immigrants thus found official expression in 1922:¹⁴ "We do not counsel violence, but if violence is necessary to rid our mills of these foreigners, it were better to have violence now than to see our operatives forced to live and work alongside a disreputable element." And again, should immigrants prove absolutely essential to fill the gaps in southern labor, the cotton industry should be the last forced to employ them. Let "the rural districts be first liberally supplied, if possible, and the industrial enterprises employ those who find themselves unfitted for agricultural pursuits, particularly the native born."¹⁵

¹⁴ *Southern Textile Bulletin* of July 6, 1922, quoted by Paul L. Benjamin, in "The North Carolina Plan," *Survey*, 148:705, September 15, 1922.

¹⁵ Proceedings of the 10th Annual Convention of the Cotton Manufacturers' Association of North Carolina, 1916, p. 99.

Competition for native whites has gone so far that the operators have sent their emissaries outside of their immediate neighborhoods into further rural districts and even into competitors' private precincts. To disaffected workers in other mills their runners have offered to pay moving costs and outstanding debts, the loans to be met by future wages. Again, where the laborer's family includes several very good workers, the promise of employment may include the less efficient members, together with those slightly under age, and a better house for the lot.

By this competition the mill worker has been encouraged in his natural nomadism. Whereas his forbears fled from the indebtedness of one plantation owner and one storekeeper to another, he now wanders from village and mill to mill and village, each move costing him more of his household goods, until he has few Lares and Penates to hold him anywhere. Other habits doubtless acquire instability from this constant change of residence. He becomes less sensitive to social approval and disapproval. The stabilizing forces at work in settled individual communities have little chance to affect him.

It is interesting to note the element of compensation in this race factor.¹⁰ These Anglo-Saxons are proud of the very race element which, undiluted, works to their disadvantage: proud that they are not Poles, or Italians, or immigrants from any other shores whatsoever. Their descent from the place and power of their forbears has altered not one whit their sense of superiority to the immigrant, even when in time he rises to more prosperous heights. The operators state that they share the race prejudice of their employees, and partly for that reason feel the obligation of looking after them and keeping a watchful, painstaking record of their happenings, carrying paternalism to the nth degree.

V

But what of our original question? Does our analysis of village life in the cotton industry warrant the assertion that it fosters its own social type? Let us group our findings. The forces at work in the village fall into two main groups: one of those common to other businesses as well as the cotton industry, and the other of those

peculiar to the latter. In the common class belong such forces as child labor, unskilled and illiterate labor, employment of whole families, dreary homes and inefficient homekeeping, expensive and injurious dietary, feeble physique, early marriage, premature and uncared-for old age, arrested mental development, nomadism, villages owned and controlled by corporations, and identification with a single industry exclusively. These common forces work a common effect: destruction of genuine family life and feeling, increased incapacity for judgment and control, discount of personality, unstable behavior and paucity of leaders.

The cotton mill village, as has been shown, adds to these forces others more peculiar to itself: traditions of benevolence long attached to the industry and hindering the development of contractual relations between management and employees, an extremity of paternalism born of the feudalistic tenure of old days and fed upon economic rivalries of the present, rural and agricultural psychology tenaciously attempting to function in modern industry, large numbers of relatively isolated factories, and, more far-reaching in its effects than all else, uniformity of racial stock accompanied by a sense of racial superiority. The writer submits that, if these forces be not relatively peculiar to the cotton mill village of the south, they are at least so strong there that they make the cotton mill village there a special problem, requiring special consideration. Without far-reaching statistical inquiries it would be impossible to take the measurement of the social type created by these forces, but that there is that type will be agreed, I believe, by all observers in the south today.

When, with the basal fact of uniformity in social traits is combined that of a native ability long arrested in its development by isolation and paternalism, the resulting social type is exceptionally irresponsible and sensitive to mob reactions. Thus far, the violence of the strike has been conspicuously absent among the southern cotton mill folk; for the manufacturers have erected a wall too high for the union organizer to climb over. Thus far, striking has served rather as a diversion for incidentless lives and feeling has been too friendly for brickbats and dynamite. For the future, there is less promise of security, because northern capital is erecting

¹⁰ The race problem of the southern mill village was represented in the *Century*, 106:203, June, 1923, by Mr. F. Tannenbaum.

(not buying) mills in the south; and the "poor white" labor supply is certain to grow dilute. Moreover, in the turgid atmosphere of the Ku Klux Klan and in the countless splits and factions of political groups, younger southerners¹⁷ see evidence that "A spirit of revolt and independence . . . a great restlessness, a gnawing desire for change, is stirring all through the South today."

Under the circumstances, are we to expect that the native "poor white," when he comes in contact with the Poles, the Italians and the Portuguese, will become infected with radicalism? Or will he instruct the newcomers with more conservative teachings? Sometimes a mill manager, reflecting upon the propensities of his workers, expresses considerable anxiety lest the leadership be assumed by foreign, rather than native, opinion. He deplores his laborers' lack of a sense of responsibility and is beginning to admit that his "tremendous social program . . . is pauperizing his workers, depriving them of the moral fibre to resist the infection of anarchistic ideas."¹⁸

Yet many employers do not see far enough to use effective means to combat the danger. This

¹⁷ Quotation here is made from Mr. W. O. Saunders, "I Dare to Speak for Our Youth," *Colliers*, 71:5, March 24, 1923.

¹⁸ Quoting Mr. Johnson's discussion in the *Survey*. See note 1.

type goes no further than to encourage the laborers to help furnish the community house equipment or to play a minor part in election of village officers. On the other hand, another type of employers, gradually becoming more numerous, is looking further, agitating textile institutes and groping about to find better ways to change the supposed social type of the mill village. Among this group there are attempts to work out the individual equation in order to provide the natives with leaders from among their own number, loyal to southern industry.

The test of this matter is not yet; but meanwhile there is a vital principle of body and mind which no operator can ignore. Atrophy overtakes that which has no exercise, and if a mill-worker be not encouraged to exercise individual judgment in ordinary living affairs, he cannot be expected to use that faculty in times of crisis. Mankind has had proof enough of the dangers of attempting to pattern all men in one mold, of the fact that "all the sciences and arts of controlling human nature must accept the original variety of human nature as a condition for thought and action."¹⁹ In the last analysis is not that precisely what the manager of cotton mills in the south must do, if he would avoid disaster?

¹⁹ Thorndike, E. I., *Individuality*, (Boston, 1911) p. 50.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HUMANISM

GEORGE B. LOGAN, JR.

THERE IS ONE title of the world's respect that for a good while has been allowed to fall into disuse—that of humanist. The name has gone, unfortunately, because modern society does not produce the sort of man who has a right to bear it. During more than three hundred years, from Petrarch to Milton, there lived a succession of poets, statesmen, scientists, and men of letters whom we count among the fashioners of our present world, humanists not only because they loved the classics of ancient literature but because they were absorbed in man and all that concerned him, in his personality and fortunes, his passions and fancies and desires, in everything that goes to make up the atmosphere of earthly life. With Milton the great tradition

breaks off. Since his death there has been no figure of the first rank (excepting possibly Goethe) so interested in man's life as a whole, so devoted to man as man and not to any part of his nature or surroundings, as fully to deserve the name of humanist. The loss has been a very real and a very significant one; and I think it is worth the while of every student of society to think about it.

The humanist, like the dinosaur and the great auk, was largely moulded by the world he lived in, and faded out as it changed. It is not an accident that Petrarch had for his older contemporary Dante, and Milton for his younger contemporary Sir Isaac Newton. For Dante stands as the type of the middle ages in the final perfection of their

fall, and with Newton we are carried for the first time into the modern world of mechanics, celestial and otherwise. Between the two, after the older domination of religion had been relaxed and before the newer domination of science could be organized, lay a middle ground where men found for a little while that they could think chiefly about themselves. They were oppressed and frightened neither by the life to come, as their ancestors had been, nor by the multiplicity of their machines and the fatality of natural law, as so many of their descendants were to be. Rather suddenly the earth had become a place worth living in for its own sake, and its inhabitants fellow-beings with a diverse life of their own and an alluring future ahead of them. The renaissance was by no means an age of Arcadian simplicity and joy; but it was definitely and consciously a time of transition, when the old stagnant unity of Christendom had broken up and anything might be made out of its fragments that men dared. The humanists were those intrepid spirits who essayed the art of living in a free world.

Unhappily most of them found, as most people afterwards have found, that the world was not yet free enough to make of living an art. There were (and are) details of civil, religious, political, and economic liberty to be worked out that for three or four centuries have taken up most of men's time in polemics. But, working behind our more obvious concerns, it is the amazing developments of natural science that have had most to do with crowding out the spirit of humanism. Nowadays our horizons are considerably larger, and we confront a universe in which man is only a recent comer and a precarious survivor. The sources of acknowledged power have shifted from his Creator through man himself to find lodgement, for the time, in the mighty trinkets he constructs and the lower world out of which he has painfully climbed. The prospect is hardly reassuring, nor is our new knowledge a comfortable guide, for while it may point us a way out it is at the same time showing us how much deeper in we are than we thought. Yet we have surrendered to it almost completely. Is it too terrible a thing to say that today science is winning against man? It began as his servant, but it has come perilously near to being his master. We need

not be reminded that our outward manner of living has changed more radically in the last three generations than it had previously in fifty or sixty centuries, and that the acceleration continues. Nor need we be shown how the material conditions of our lives affect our every impulse, our every thought, our every considered action. Whatever social liberties of one sort we may have won or may be fighting for, we are deeper and deeper in the toils of our machines and the philosophies they engender in us. Were it not that some of us have begun to feel the danger, our enslavement would be complete. The implications of a tank of chlorine gas have proved more intimate and compelling than our sense of the vital interdependence of all peoples; but we are least seeing wherein we failed. It is likely that curved space will influence the thinking of our children as deeply as (say) natural selection did the thinking of our fathers: we know not how, but we are not going to let them be brutalized if we can help it. Yet in spite of ourselves we are all a part of the temper of the age, and the scientific spirit, for good or ill, is woven into the texture of our whole lives. And to what end? The philosopher says that nature mechanically viewed becomes indifferent to the teleological considerations of mind. The humanist would say (I hope) that science, uninformed with a sense of moral values, is before very long going to pick up the civilized world and fling it to destruction in a welter of efficient barbarism.

Strong language; but it helps to put a problem that cries for solution now more urgently than it ever did before. For if we are to be rescued from the results of our own devilish ingenuity and greediness for facts, there has got to be found a new sort of teacher who will show us how to do it. I know of no name that fits, but humanist will do as well as any other, because it is a reconstructed humanism, if you will, so like the old in its widest outlook on life and yet so different in the cosmos and the minds it will have to work with, that I am persuaded is one of the greatest of our needs today. In a very real sense, man will have to be led back to his throne (or rather to his footstool) at the center of the universe. This means nothing less—and nothing more—than our rediscovery of ourselves. To Calvin the thought of man as a priest, to Jefferson the

thought of man as a citizen, were shining ideals through which society was to be made over—though time and use have dulled their first brightness. So the thought of man as man in the fullness of his powers and all the richness of his nature, as the greatest of the poets have discerned him, was once just as vitalizing a conception and there is no reason why it may not become so again. Personality is the central fact of all: it, in its widest and most diverse manifestations, along with the spiritual and ideal values it creates or perceives and in spite of its fatal facility in denying itself, is the mask through which sound the ultimate realities. Everything comes as grist to its mill. We have got to learn how to use our dangerous toys and our devastating hypotheses, to see that they exist not for their own sakes but for ours, that we are masters of our world in so far as we can explain it and adapt it to our own highest ends. Things are made for us and not we for things, no matter how intricate or terrifying or unmoral they may seem to be. And with that will come (while we humble ourselves before those deeper mysteries that stand unconfessed in the heart of things) a new sense of individual and social distinction, a vital perception of our essential dignity through all the accidents that we have invented or discovered about us. The figure of man, made in an image greater than he suspects, will emerge out of his cloud of facts as it once before emerged out of his cloud of authority and magic.

This is asking a good deal. How are we going to go about it? At bottom, it is a work of synthesis that needs doing. Dante, we say, was the last universal poet, and Bacon the last universal scholar; since their respective days no one has professed to interpret or master the whole of our unmeasured stores of information. But as time goes on do we not fail more and more to digest and interrelate (two processes which perhaps amount to the same thing) those fragments of the whole that we do possess? The universe is being taken apart so minutely and its pieces so twisted out of their old shape that few of those who have a hand in it expect to see them put together again. Science, it is true, claims to unify diversities and detect uniformities, and so it does within its special fields; but the subdivision of

knowledge proceeds farther and faster than its composition. Even such illuminating conceptions as those we call evolution and radioactivity serve to open a good many more questions than they resolve. It is clear that we do not get the full meaning of what we know until we can lay it alongside something (no matter what it be) that somebody else (no matter who he be) knows and say: "Here, and thus, are two common factors in the single scheme of things." We have had three hundred years and more of analysis: when, if not now, are we to make the first halting attempts at blending the parts into one consistent, rational, and ennobling whole—with man at the focus—by which he can live his common life in harmony and freedom? Is it too big a job for anybody? I wonder. We dare not admit it, for if it be so the bases on which we have built our modern life are vain.

The older humanists took off from a field of classical literature, because they found their aspirations better expressed in manuscripts fifteen hundred years old than in any feature of the world about them. We shall probably have to do otherwise. The thing is going to demand the highest imaginative faculties, and we have been accustomed to associate them with art, which leaps at the truth from above, rather than with the scientific mind, which prefers to induce it from below. But if the imagination cannot be called into play among the humbler labors of induction, it may at any rate have full scope in the reflection which integrates the data of that process. We have learned that man's spirit may be revealed in an ever-increasing diversity of ways. Science too is one of the humanities, a door to our being no less authentic than those of action and poetry and worship, each of them with its limitations, each affording us glimpses into reality that are not antagonistic but complementary. So, I think, the new feeling for man will have to make its approach through the spirit of the age: it is not to be so much a rediscovery of the old as an appropriation of the new. There is a temper in the modern world, born of its long tutelage in the ways of observation and experiment, that is impatient with any philosophy not "scientific" in form. And there is no need of trying to buck the system, as it were. Our conception of life is

to be wrought out of the stuff that lies ready to our hands, and not dramatically dragged to light across a millenium of repression. Whether it begin, consciously, as science or something else, it must build on and absorb and put to its own uses the whole body of modern thought, as the old built on and tried to absorb the ancient culture; and its success will be in heightening and inspiring the intellectual and moral genius of the time, translating it into a fuller language, rather than in breaking it off sharply for another. But the end is bound to be a good deal more than what we understand as science, which may best be called a humanistic view of the universe.

What is the meaning of all this for the student of society? It will be evident to him if he knows his business aright. By the nature of his occupation he stands on ground that is neither, in the older sense, strictly scientific nor humanistic. He calls himself, and justly, a scientist, because his methods of work and many of his explanations are prompted by natural conditions; but his subject matter and his aims, expressed or implied, are humane and moral. Along with the anthropologist, the historian, and the economist, he refuses to fit into the old classification which would divide all studies into those of man and not-man, and in one sense links them together, drawing on either as he finds method or material that can be worked into his own fresh body of knowledge. From his colleagues in these other fields he differs in possessing a comprehensiveness of view they cannot share. He looks at the whole of society, past and present, in its every variation from parent and child to the world-state, and in such a spirit as to get behind the questions of bitter present-day controversy. He studies not only men's relationships with the natural world and with their fellows, but their dependence on those aesthetic and spiritual realities that lift them immediately to a higher sense of life. And he would directly apply his knowledge not merely to current wants, as the chemist or the engineer is likely to do, but to what he has discerned to be, in the long run, man's true needs.

So, in another sense, the sociologist is more than a bond between the old categories of man and nature. He serves, or might be conceived as serving, rather as an interpreter of them both, fusing them into something that can be thought

of as a greater unity. For in the almost limitless expanse of his work that is spreading before him, it begins to appear as the highest of the sciences as well as the widest. In a way it stands on the shoulders of all the others, evolving out of psychology as psychology evolves out of biology, and in turn out of chemistry and physics. We have caught the first faint glimpses of how force works into matter, matter into life, life into mind, mind into society; and so in time, if we find out what society has up its sleeve, we shall get over the stile and home. There is more to this business of sociology than one would think. Not only does it amalgamate the knowledge out of which it has evolved, but it has ambitions that look upward as well as about it. It is not satisfied with its past, but keeps reaching out and drawing to itself those things, such as idealism and religion, that used to be guarded on a different plane altogether. And as each of its pillars and flying buttresses develops, so it must develop with them, absorbing their new knowledge into its own and yet keeping, in its deeper implications, always a little beyond. It well knows that the whole is more than the sum of its parts; and the science of man must be as great a thing as man will ever perceive himself to be.

The whole amounts to something with which science, until very recently indeed, thought it had nothing at all to do. For because man is ineradicably a moral being at the same time and perhaps to the same extent that he is a social being, the study of human society cannot help but resolve itself in the end, whether it likes the idea or not, into an active way of morality. It has Father Damien to "explain" no less than Martin Kallikak, the Quakers no less than the Assassins; and it has an idea of what all men can become as well as what most men are. Just as far as man at his best feels his responsibilities to the universe (more fully than, for instance, a streptococcus or a warp in space does) so far is it bound to formulate the laws under which he ideally acts and puts them, like any other practical knowledge, to work in his service. The point is that they can, literally, make a new man of him, a man who has come to himself, who knows what he is about. The thing is only doing, at long range, what the physician does, at short range, when he

injects an antitoxin, or the engineer, at shorter range still, thinks he is doing when he launches a submarine to protect our coasts and slaughter our neighbors. It is only showing him how to live.

Now whether the sociologist, in thus getting out of his work what is implicit in it, will cease to be a sociologist and turn into something else, is rather beside the question. If he does it will be because language has not been planned to cover the realities it deals with. There will have to be more than confusion of terms anyway, before the composition of knowledge that is within his reach may come true: that is an inevitable part of the building up of a new philosophy of life,

which breaks away so many barriers and reveals one where there were many before. It is nothing less than that which lies before him. Its germs are already within his grasp. He has as good a background, as deep and broad a foundation, as anybody, and a little better than most. The psychologist may perhaps dispute his claim, but if the two agree to work together they can fill out the whole circle, one declaring how man's spirit lives within him, and the other how it looks out, and might be persuaded to look out, on his world. So may we some day overcome and extinguish the last of our evil heritages, fear, and take courage with us into the future.

Teaching and Research in the Social Sciences

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

SOME CONTRIBUTIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY TO HISTORY*

HARRY ELMER BARNES

I. THE OLDER ANTHROPOLOGY AND CONVENTIONAL HISTORY

UNDoubtedly the first requisite of an article on the relation between anthropology and history is to arrive at a clear understanding of what is meant by anthropology. For this purpose the definitions by Professors Marett and Boas will serve fairly well. Marett holds that

Anthropology is the whole history of man as fired and pervaded by the idea of evolution. Man in evolution—that is the subject in its full reach. Anthropology studies man as he occurs at all known times. It studies him as he occurs in all known parts of the world. It studies him body and mind together—as a bodily organism, subject to conditions operating in time and space, which bodily organism is in intimate relation with a psychic life, also subject to the same conditions. Having an eye to such conditions from first to last, it seeks to plot out the general series of the changes, bodily and mental together, undergone by man in the course of his history.

In much the same spirit Professor Boas declares anthropology to be

The science that endeavors to reconstruct the early history of mankind and that tries, wherever possible, to express in the form of laws ever-recurring modes of historical happenings. Since written history covers a brief span of time, and relates in fragmentary records the fates of a few only of the multitude of peoples of the earth, the anthropologist must endeavor by methods of his own to clear up the darkness of past ages and of remote parts of the world. . . .

It implies also a point of view fundamentally distinct from that of history in the narrow sense of the term. In history we are, on the whole, concerned with events only that have had an influence upon the development of our own civilization; in anthropology the life of every people of the world is equally important. . . . It will thus be seen that anthropology differs from history, and resembles the natural sciences in its endeavor to disregard the subjective values of historical happenings; that

it tries to consider them objectively, simply as a sequence of events, regardless of their influence upon the course of our own civilization.

In the vastness of the outlook over the unwritten history of past ages, the individual is merged entirely in the social unit of which he forms a part, and we see in the dim distance of time and space only the movements of peoples, the emergence of new types of man, the gradual development of new forms of civilization, and a constant repetition of processes of integration and disintegration of peoples and cultures. Prehistoric remains, characteristics of bodily form, traits of language, industrial and economic achievements, peculiar customs and beliefs, are the only evidence that we can use,—evidence that was little regarded by history until the anthropological standpoint began to develop.

In any attempt to discuss the relation of anthropology to history care must be taken to indicate the type of anthropology and history under discussion, as the difference between the anthropology of Lewis H. Morgan and that of Franz Boas and his disciples is exceeded only by the divergence between the history of Von Ranke and Droysen and that of Breysig, F. J. Turner, or Preserved Smith.¹ While most of the specific positions and theories of the older comparative or classical anthropology from Lubbock to Frazer have been superseded by more tenable doctrines, the older anthropology made one great contribution to dynamic history, however little it may have been appropriated by historians, namely, the comparative point of view and the provision of an enormous amount of ethnographic material to illustrate it. This should have destroyed for all time the notion of the uniqueness of race, institutions or culture, and have overcome much of that chauvinism and bigotry which have been such a fatal burden upon western civilization during the last century. It should also have stimulated the

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¹ A. A. Goldenweiser, "Four Stages of Anthropological Thought," in *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1921; H. E. Barnes, "The Past and the Future of History," in *Historical Outlook*, February, 1921.

interest in culture as against episodes and anecdotes as the chief occupation of those concerned with the past record of mankind. In short, as to point of view and general orientation, it might well have been nearly as serviceable to the historian as the more reliable cultural anthropology of the present day.

In spite of these potential contributions of anthropology to history in the last century, it was but little exploited. The great majority of historians were not interested in cultural evolution, but rather in dramatic episodes connected with the military, diplomatic and political history of a particular state. At best, the older history, looking upon the political states as the supreme human institution and the focussing point of all human activities and cultural achievements, provided a detailed description of certain political processes and an analysis of the development and operation of certain typical political institutions. Far more frequently the older political history consisted in the most monotonous massing of a vast body of synchronous or consecutive episodes that took place in the political or diplomatic fields, which could have no significance whatever until sifted and utilized by the institutional and interpretative historian.²

In regard to theories of cultural evolution the general position of the older anthropology was that of independent development of cultural parallelisms and identities, thus emphasizing the element of human originality and inventiveness and the uniformity of the general course of cultural development in all areas, however lacking in synchronism these cultural stages might be in different portions of the globe. With the exception of Buckle, there were few of the older generation of historians who were interested in cultural development or the laws governing it. Some, such as Freeman and Fiske, occupied with proving the Anglo-Saxon claim to supremacy through the Aryan heritage, showed some elementary concern and insight in regard to the institutional evolution of the so-called Aryan peoples, but the conventional historian started from the concept of the unique rather than the comparative and universal, usually not at all interested in culture, to

say nothing of the laws of its development and diffusion.³

In general, the slight interest shown in cultural progress was manifested by those who were on the periphery of the historical circle—men not really admitted to be true historians by the elect. As examples of this type of approach to cultural evolution might be mentioned Vico, with his notion of the spiral nature of progress, Turgot, with his concept of the cumulative nature of culture and the continuity of historical development, Voltaire's emphasis on national character, which was to be exaggerated by the Romanticists, Condorcet's view of the importance of natural and applied science in cultural progress, and Comte's attempt to work out a socio-psychological interpretation of the history of civilization⁴. For the most part the historians interested in causation followed Carlyle in assigning the initiating factor to great personalities, adhered to the catastrophic interpretation of Robertson, Symonds, Macaulay and Lamartine, advanced the theological approach of Janssen and Schaff, or combined all three in the spirit of Bancroft.⁵

The contributions of the so-called "pre-historic" archeology in the way of furnishing the proper time perspective for the historian had become assured and important by the time of Mortillet, shortly after the close of the American Civil War, but a great majority of the historical works of the last half century conform as well to the requirements of a planet and race created in 4004 B.C. as to those of a planet of infinite age and a race with a long animal ancestry and an independent existence of more than a quarter of a million years. In fact, it is highly probable that even many of the greatest of the historians of this age would have willingly subscribed to the doctrine of a special creation of relative recency. The case of Bishop Stubbs is but representative. The oft-cited case of Mommsen—a historian of antiquity—who did not learn of the ice-age until he had completed most of his historical work is an impressive illustration of the ignoring of pre-literary history as the key to the approach to the period of written history. Rarely, indeed, did even the historians of national culture begin their

² Ibid., Chap. xviii; *Publications of the American Economic Association*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 190ff; F. M. Fling, *The Writing of History*.

³ See J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress*.

⁴ Gooch, *op. cit.*, Chap. xvii, and pp. 227-8, 294-304, 403-7, 534ff; J. S. Bassett, *The Middle Group of American Historians*.

⁵ The greater part of Gooch's admirable *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* is devoted to a summary description of this type of historical work.

researches with an investigation of the remains of the "prehistoric" period. About the only contributions of archeology which were exploited by the older school of historians were those of Champollion and Lepsius in Egypt, Rawlinson in Mesopotamia, and Schliemann in Greece and the Aegean, most or all of these dealing with cultural remains falling well within the period since October 23, 4004 B.C. One cannot imagine any of the older Egyptologists presenting a picture with the perspective and sweep of Professor Breasted's famous lectures on "The Origins of Civilization." Yet even their preliminary "feelers" in the field of archeology held its dangers for the pious chronology, as it later furnished the evidence on which to base the knowledge that the Egyptians had reached a height of civilization sufficient to work out a solar calendar no less than two hundred and thirty-seven years before Adam's cosmic debut.⁶

The most impressive proposition of physical anthropology, namely, that man is a part of the animal kingdom with a mammalian heritage and characteristics, was rarely appropriated by the older historians. Most of them looked upon him as the product of a unique divine fiat, ruled by an immortal soul continually wavering before the conflicting impingement of God-given inhibitions and diabolical seductions. This colored their whole attitude towards human motives, responses and conduct. In regard to race they shared the notion of the descent of the present races from the sons of Noah following their dispersal. In most cases, they accepted the view of Gobineau as to the indisputable and comprehensive superiority of the white stock, and of the "Aryan race" within the white stock. Historians who considered this problem at all, under the spell of nationalism, almost invariably limited their efforts to aiding the philologists and pseudo-anthropologists in the attempted proof of the sole existence of the only true Aryan heritage within their own national boundaries. One of the most acrimonious of these conflicts was the clash of Teutonism and Gallicanism, as represented by the Maurers and Fustel de Coulanges, and our own and the English historians were chiefly affected by that aspect of the illusion known today as "the Anglo-Saxon Myth."⁷

In spite of the fact that much valuable work has been done on the relation between culture and the physical environment before 1870 by such men as Montesquieu, Herder, Ritter, Guyot and Peschel, their results were little appropriated by historians. Even in the case of the few who showed an interest in cultural development *Geist* was estimated as of far greater potency than geography. The environmental interpretation seemed to savor of materialism, in spite of the fact that there are most evident mystical strains in the interpretations of both Guyot and Ritter. Buckle alone showed enthusiasm for the geographical hypothesis, and he was not a man of his generation. On the whole, the appropriation of geographical data by historians in this period from 1850 to 1890 was slight, and limited to such phases as the emphasis upon the relation between geography and commerce and colonization by such followers of Montesquieu as Robertson, Raynal and Heeren, the appropriation of certain impulses from Ritter by Curtius, Freeman, Duruy and Riehl, and the investigation of the geographic basis of national origins and expansion by such historians as Michelet, Green and Winsor. Buckle was almost universally condemned by the respectable historians of his generation. And even Buckle was not able to weigh the relative influence of physical and cultural factors with the objectivity and precision of the modern critical anthropologists.⁸

In the field of the analysis of the origin and genesis of religious phenomena and institutions extremely important contributions to the comparative point of view had been worked out by Spencer, Lubbock and Tylor in the days of Ranke, Freeman and Stubbs, but few historians of this age departed from the supernaturalism of Orosius and Augustine, with its whole-hearted acceptance of the unique validity of the Christian Epic. Gibbon, of course, had attempted to treat Christianity from the comparative and objective point of view of Voltaire, but he was a Rationalist of the eighteenth century, while the majority of nineteenth century historians were victims of the pietistic renaissance which began with men like Paley and has persisted until our own day. This made it practically impossible for the older historians to take an objective and unemotional attitude towards religious problems, in general, to

⁶ Gooch, *op. cit.*, Chaps. xxiv-xxv.

⁷ Gooch, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-55, 209-13, 289-90, 340-52; W. A. Dunning, *Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer*, Chap. viii. Cf. John Fiske, *American Political Ideals*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 346-52, 357-8, 475-8, 574-7, 585; E. Fueter, *L'Histoire de l'Historiographie*, pp. 450, 475-8.

pursue intelligently the problem of the genesis of religious beliefs, to deal fairly with the religion and institutions of non-Christian peoples, or to take an unbiased attitude towards the quarrels of Christian sects and creeds. The anecdote of Bishop Stubbs sneaking a rationalistic book from Johnny Green and throwing it into a waste paper basket is illuminating and characteristic. Further, this not only invalidated their treatment of religious history, and much related political history, but also produced a highly subjective attitude towards ethical problems, which they generally viewed in terms of the impurity-complex of western Christianity, thus failing to appreciate the greater adequacy of certain "heathen" oriental ethical codes which insisted that proper conduct consisted in more than formal and external sexual purity and required that a man be broadly honest and sympathetic in his relations with his fellow-creatures. Again, this pietistic supernaturalism often combined with nationalism to produce a mystical chauvinism, with its hypothesis of special divine solicitude for the political development and expansion of some particular national state.⁹

Anthropologists had by the time of Morgan executed an impressive, if somewhat dubious, synthesis of the evolution of various forms of social organization, but it was a rare historian who showed any special interest in their achievements. In general, to this generation, whose ideals were well epitomized in Freeman's phrase that "history is past politics," the problems of social organization were largely circumscribed by the evolution of the state. Even here except for such works as those by Waitz and Gneist, the interest was not in those broad and fundamental questions of political genesis which were dealt with in the works of Spencer, Gumplowicz, Ratzel, and Novicow, or Fustel, Maitland, Brunner and Violett, but rather in some particular political institutions or units believed to have a special importance for problems of representative government or democracy. These consisted mainly in the genesis of representative government and the migration of the "democratic" folk-moot from the forests of primitive Germany to the Parliament of England and the New England town-

meeting. There has been no more grotesque error in political history than the allegation of the derivation of democracy from the Teutonic folk-moot, yet all of this mythology could have been nipped in the bud by a proper comprehension of the wide distribution of tribal institutions of a similar sort—a fact of common knowledge to the most elementary student of anthropology. In regard to law, most political historians were far more affected by the natural law theory, the Austinian analytical approach of the *Staatsrechtslehre* of German students than by the historical jurisprudence of Maine or the comparative point of view of Ihering, both of whom were profoundly influenced by the anthropologists. And as to the institution of property the majority of the historians were thoroughly imbued with the ideals of the Protestant *Ethik* and the new capitalism, and looked upon private property as one of the most sacred and basic institutions, whose foundations were implanted in the very nature of man from the beginning by the designing and benevolent will of God. The few who departed from this notion were mainly Socialistic historians, who went to an equally untenable extreme by appealing to anthropology and history to support the thesis of the natural preference and adaptability of man to that communism which nature had intended to be his lot. A straightforward study of the facts about the genesis of property, such as those by Hobhouse and Lowie, would have been un congenial to both alike. In regard to the relative importance of individual and social factors, there was little recourse to anthropology to discover the actual facts as disclosed by human organization and development, but rather the definite and dogmatic assumption of the superiority of the individual-psychic factor. While all did not go to the Carlylian extreme, the great man theory held an almost undisputed supremacy among the historians of the last century, and the great men were believed to be those eminent in military, diplomatic and political history. The dissent of Spencer, Riehl, Freytag, Marx, Buckle and Green was not widely noticed or generally heeded.¹⁰

⁹ Gooch, *op. cit.*, Chaps. xxvi-xxvii; E. C. Moore, *Protestant Thought Since Kant*; A. Macdonald, *Trade, Politics and Christianity*.

¹⁰ Gooch, *op. cit.*, Chaps. xv, xvii, xviii; C. A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, Chap. i; P. V. N. Myers, *History as Past Ethics*; T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*; E. R. A. Seligman, *The Economic Interpretation of History*; W. R. Thayer, *The Art of Biography*. For a good summary of the "Folk-moot" stage of institutional political history see G. E. Howard, *Local Constitutional History of the United States*, and Fiske, *American Political Ideals*.

II. CRITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE NEWER HISTORY

Quite in contrast with the general lack of any significant collaboration between the older anthropology and the conventional episodial political historical writing, has been the very real appropriation of the contributions of the critical cultural anthropology by the exponents of dynamic cultural history. In fact, in many ways one might well regard anthropology as perhaps the most satisfactory and significant background and introduction to history.¹¹

In regard to theories of cultural evolution, anthropology has been of great service to the newer history. By its broad sweep in sketching the evolution of human culture in all stages of growth, it has offered an impressive picture of its remarkable unity in time and space, while at the same time indicating many significant differences in matters of detail.¹² In dealing with the matter of the evolution of culture the critical anthropologists have given up the reliance solely upon the doctrine of independent development, which characterized the classical school, and have shown the significance of such processes as the diffusion of culture and cultural convergence in producing identities and parallelisms. While some, like Graebner and Elliot Smith, have gone too far in emphasis upon diffusion, most of the critical group recognize the importance of all of these processes and are interested chiefly in discovering which has been most potent at any particular time or place in regard to some specific cultural complex. Probably the reason for the far greater development of refined methodology in regard to the analysis of cultural growth in anthropology, as compared with history, is to be found in the fact that the paucity of material at the disposal of the anthropologist necessitated the utmost care in cultural reconstruction, while the great mass of data available for the historian encouraged carelessness about method or the ignoring of method altogether, except in regard to the matter of ascertaining accuracy of text or fact.

This achievement has for the first time given the historian a firm basis for the doctrine of the unity of history. Again, it has furnished him with a proper temporal and cultural perspective and shown the fallacies and futility of the older methods of dividing history into chronological stages or periods. Continuity in either progress or regression, rather than breaks and stages, seems to be the method and process of cultural growth. The more progressive historians have thus come to look upon the periodization of history as a purely artificial device, justifiable only on the basis of pedagogical simplification.¹³ Even more important, anthropology has at last convinced some historians that human culture is the dynamic factor and the vital raw material of history, and has thus created what may be called in the most accurate sense *Kulturgeschichte*. While theoretical formulations of this approach to history have been the work of a few men like Lamprecht, Breysig and others of the Leipzig School, Henri Berr, J. T. Shotwell, and F. J. Teggart, many have made notable concrete contributions to this field.¹⁴

To enumerate the vast number of contributors to special phases and periods of cultural development would be quite beyond the scope of this paper, but one can mention various ambitious efforts to survey the history of human culture as something of a unity. Notable among these has been the famous course of James Harvey Robinson on the history of the intellectual class in Europe, which he has popularized in his two books, *Mind in the Making*, and *The Humanizing of Knowledge*.¹⁵ A similar effort has been made to cover the history of material culture in the west by Professor J. T. Shotwell.¹⁶ F. S. Marvin, in his two stimulating books, *The Living Past*, and *The Century of Hope*, as well as in the volumes of the Unity Series which he has organized and edited, has done much to arouse an interest in the history of civilization in England. Even more important have been the efforts to work out great coöperative sets on the history of western civilization. The first of these efforts was that

¹¹ A. A. Goldenweiser, "History, Psychology, and Culture," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods*, October 10, 24, 1918; F. J. Teggart, "Anthropology and History," *Ibid.*, December 4, 1919; W. H. R. Rivers, "History and Ethnology," *History*, July, 1920; W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*; A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, Chaps. xiv-xv.

¹² C. Wissler, *Man and Culture*; Herskovits and Willey, "The Cultural Approach to Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1923; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, Chaps. viii-ix; and E. Sapir, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious," in *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1924.

¹³ *Evolution in Modern Thought* (Boni and Liveright Modern Library), Chap. ix; F. S. Marvin, *The Living Past*; Ed. *Progress and History*; *The Unity of Western Civilization*; H. Berr, *La Synthèse en Histoire*; B. Croce, *History: Its Theory and Practice*, Part I, Chap. vii.

¹⁴ As above, and K. Lamprecht, *What Is History?*; F. J. Teggart, *The Processes of History*; and Gooch, *op. cit.*, Chap. xxviii.

¹⁵ See article, "Psychology and History," in *American Journal of Psychology*, October, 1919.

¹⁶ The nature of this course is indicated by my syllabus on *The Social History of the Western World*.

edited by Helmolt. An even more promising series is now being initiated by Henri Berr, entitled, *L'Evolution de l'Humanité*. But even the most progressive historians have not greatly concerned themselves with the laws and processes of cultural development as embodied in the discussion of the relative importance of independent development, convergence and diffusion, though these would be of great service in analyzing the process of the Europeanization of the world since 1500. Yet we may be sure that as the interest in history shifts from events to civilization, there is bound to be more emphasis on the laws of the development of culture and more reliance upon method in cultural reconstruction.¹⁷ Further, there can be no doubt that anthropology has broadened the interest of the historian in another way, namely, by helping to arouse his interest in the cultures of non-European peoples.

The newer type of historian has also greatly profited by the remarkable progress in "pre-historic" archeology in the last generation. The detailed work of many investigators in various areas has been synthesized by Déchelette, Schmidt, Rutot, Osborn, Tyler and Wilder, and has shown the vast antiquity of European culture, compared with which the period since Romulus and Remus is but the contemporary age. This has rendered necessary a complete revision of all of our chronology of the human past. In the light of the new time perspective, ancient, medieval and modern history appear to fall within the period of contemporary or recent history. Modern history may quite rightly be regarded as commencing with the age of metals. There no longer appears to be any sharp break between civilized and uncivilized man. Culture develops slowly, and there is but the most hazy and subjective sort of division between savagery, barbarism and civilization. The origins of civilization and written history no longer seem mysterious and unreal, as they did in the old days when man was supposed to have been created a few milleniums back, and when it was necessary to explain the existence of many high civilizations synchronous with, or anterior to, the creation of Adam. The pre-literary period glides

smoothly into the age of written history, the only difference, albeit a significant one, being that man had added a technique for recording his thought and deeds. Even in this matter of the origin of language and writing anthropologists have been of real aid to the historian, as is to be seen in the remarkable work of Edward Sapir.

The significance of these archeological labors for history have been readily recognized. Instead of being introduced to the history of antiquity through the story of the linguistic confusion at the Tower of Babel or the discharge of the passengers from the Ark, we are confronted with elaborate treatments of "pre-history" from the anthropological point of view. Conspicuous examples of this are Edouard Myer's *Geschichte des Altertums*, the first volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, and the early volumes of the Berr series. Scholarly historians such as Breasted, Robinson, Myres, Webster and Marvin have disseminated this conception through introductory manuals, and it was the great service of Mr. Wells in his *Outline of History* to have brought the appreciation of the importance of the "pre-historic" period to millions of readers. The threshold to human history has been forever established, and Adam relieved from the heavy responsibility of the heroic procreative activities implied in the position to which he was assigned by Hebraic history and theology.¹⁸

Nor have the archeologists working in historic areas and civilizations failed to contribute notably to historical data. De Morgan, by discovering the stone ages in Egypt, deserves to rank with Champollion in unlocking the mysteries of the Nile Valley. We can now trace the origins of civilization in this area from the eolithic to the culture of Hellenistic Alexandria. Much new information has been brought to light on the civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Winckler, Garstang and others have uncovered the important Hittite civilization in Asia Minor, which was apparently the first to develop an iron culture. The Hittite writing, just deciphered by Hrozný, will doubtless enormously enrich our concrete knowledge of the ancient East. The labors of Sir Arthur Evans, Halbherr and their successors and associates have revealed the notable civilization of the maritime state of Crete, which for the

¹⁷ Lamprecht has considered the laws of cultural development, and stimulated the interest of Graebner. The process of diffusion has been studied by Breasted in his account of Egyptian influences in Oriental antiquity, and by W. R. Shepherd and his students in studying the interaction of European and extra-European cultural influences since 1500. See the suggestive article by E. P. Cheyney on "Law in History," in *American Historical Review*, January, 1924; and H. Richert, *Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft*.

¹⁸ The best syntheses available in English are H. F. Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*; J. M. Tyler, *The New Stone Age in Northern Europe*; and H. W. Wilder, *Man's Prehistoric Past*.

first time makes the early history of Greece intelligible and furnishes the logical introduction to the work of Schliemann and Dörpfeld. The further researches in Italian archeology, connecting up historic Rome with the earlier ages, has been synthesized by Modestov and in part compensate for the lack of written records before 390 B. C. But the most impressive work yet produced by an archeologist is the massive contribution of Déchelette to the pre-literary period of Gaul from the Paleolithic to the metal ages. This work, together with that of Jullian, has revolutionized the approach to western European history, even if its significance has not yet been generally recognized by historians. The history of Gaul may now be rescued from the slanders of Julius Caesar and put in its proper cultural setting, to the detriment of the prestige of Rome and the Teuton alike. The important work of Dawkins, Rice Holmes, MacAllister and Peake on British archeology, and of Montelius on early Scandinavian culture can barely be mentioned.¹⁹

The study of the influence of the geographic environment upon man and culture has been greatly advanced since the days of Ritter. Ratzel, Reclus, Brunhes, Vallaux, Semple and others have contributed systematic treatises, while quite as important work has been done in special fields by Demolins, Mackinder, Cowan, Hann, Ward, Huntington and others. The cultural anthropologists have weighed this evidence and have made it possible to avoid the two equally undesirable extremes of the usual ignoring of geographical factors in history and the naïve doctrine of geographic determinism which is often set forth by anthropogeographers.²⁰

While there is a notable disparity between the available body of scientific information regarding the geographical basis of history, and the appropriation of this material by historians, yet notable progress has already been made in the way of relating cultural progress to the physical setting. Helmolt has edited a monumental history of civilization founded upon the views of Ratzel as to the relation between geography and culture.

The historians of oriental antiquity, such as Meyer, Breasted, Winckler, Rogers, and Olmstead have clearly indicated the importance of the river-basin environments for the history of these areas. Zimmern has based a stimulating analysis of Athenian culture on a remarkably adequate presentation of the geographical facts of the Greek peninsula. While Nissen has provided the facts in his great survey of Italian geography, no modern historian has gone beyond Duruy in analyzing the relation of Italian geography to Roman history. Huntington's interesting speculations in regard to climatic oscillations in the Caspian and Mediterranean basins have been taken into account by recent historians in dealing with the causes of the German and Hun migrations, which synchronized with the decline of the Roman Empire in the West. Due to the labors of such students of geography as Vidal de la Blache, Mackinder, Kretschmer, Partsch, Goetz and others, the historians of France, England and Germany, such as Michelet, Green, Riehl and their successors, have been able to found their interpretation of national cultural evolution on an adequate comprehension of the geographic setting of this process. In the United States the geographical factors in our history have been clearly indicated by Professor Brigham and Miss Semple. The most notable and successful attempt to utilize this information in explaining the nature of American history has been executed by Professor Frederick Jackson Turner and his disciples, in their brilliant survey of the extension of the frontier from the Alleghenies to the Pacific coast and the resulting rise of sectionalism. As a group, historians have given little attention to the theoretical problems involved in the relation between geography and culture, still regarding historical geography as "chromatic politics," but exceptions are to be found in the cases of Professors Turner, A. B. Hulbert, F. J. Teggart, and A. M. Schlesinger. We are well on the way towards providing for the proper linking up of geography and history.²¹

In the field of physical anthropology revolutionary progress has been made beyond the Aryan mythology of the days of Freeman and John Fiske. Cuno, Pöschke and Pencka proved the

¹⁹ Gooch, Chaps. xxiv-xxv; J. H. Breasted, "The Origins of Civilization," in *Scientific Monthly*, 1919-20; "The New Past," in *University of Chicago Record*, October, 1920; King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries*; *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Chap. iii; Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*; R. W. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, Vol. I; H. B. Hawes, *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece*.

²⁰ A. H. Koller, *The Theory of Environment*; R. H. Lowie, *Culture and Ethnology*, Chap. iii; R. R. Marett, *Anthropology*, Chap. iv; A. A. Goldenweiser, "Culture and Environment," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1916.

²¹ See the article on "The Relation of Geography to the Writing and Interpretation of History," in *The Journal of Geography*, December, 1921, and the literature there indicated. See also A. M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, Chap. ii, and bibliographical note; and F. J. Teggart, *The Processes of History*, Chap. ii.

lack of identity between race and language, and made it clear that not all Aryan-speaking peoples were necessarily Aryan in race. There then followed a wild effort on the part of anthropologists and historians in every European state to prove themselves the true Aryans, and to show their neighbors to be of inferior clay. This attempt was brought to a disconcerting end by the labors of Sergi who proved that the Teutons could not be Aryan, and Ripley, who showed that there was no such thing as an Aryan race in any physical sense. If there are Aryan languages or specific Aryan institutions, they were brought into Europe by the Alpine invaders from Asia. There is not the slightest evidence that the Germanic peoples, once the most aggressive claimants to the Aryan heritage, came into Europe from Asia or produced a single institution once associated with Aryan culture, though this is no argument against the racial capacity of the Teutons. An even ruder shock to the older racial mythology came when Franz Boas offered convincing evidence that differences in cultural development between races could be adequately explained on other grounds than that of assumed racial superiority. Particularly is this true of the European peoples, who merely represent minor variations within the white race. Boas, Ripley and Dixon have also shown how the hopeless intermixture of the European races would make it impossible to present a racial interpretation of European history, even if we could discover determinate differences in capacity as between pure examples of these races. Even more absurd is the attempt to advance a racial interpretation of national cultures, on account of the extreme admixtures of races in nearly every modern European state. While this does not exclude the possibility of fruitful statistical investigation of the mental capacity of the various races, it makes clear that as yet we have no ground for a racial theory of history.²²

As a group, historians down to 1914 had been gradually awakening to these advances in phys-

ical anthropology and were slowly divesting themselves of the Aryan myth, though they lingered far behind the anthropologists in this regard, and frequently lapsed into the use of such a monstrosity as the term "Indo-Germanic" in regard to the western European peoples. The World War, however, brought a great and deplorable resurgence of racial nonsense. The enemy peoples accused each other of racial inferiority, savagery and incapability of civilization. A great number of historians on both sides, and in every country, including the greatest of living historians, Edouard Myer, succumbed to the herd pressure and were guilty of the most puerile indiscretions and mistakes of judgment in this regard. Another source of deception has been the reappearance of a neo-Gobinesque literature. In the pre-war literature there was one notorious book of this sort, Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. To this was added in 1917 the most mischievous book since Gobineau, Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race*, which advanced the thesis that all western civilization had been due mainly to the contributions of the Nordic blonds. This preposterous doctrine has been exploited with variations by William McDougall, Lothrop Stoddard, C. C. Josey, C. S. Burr and C. W. Gould, until now it has reached such a grotesque state that attempts are being made to interpret the American Civil War on the Nordic blond hypothesis. Fortunately, most reputable historians have remained immune from the Nordic hysterics, but it has debauched the opinions of not a few publicists and lecturers and has gained immense popularity. It will require a generation of persistent effort on the part of scholars to eradicate this distressing source of error.²³

Much more important has been the investigation of the fate of various racial stocks throughout history, in particular the problem of racial decay through counter-selection. There seems to be a tendency towards a decreasing birth-rate on the part of the upper classes in society, accompanied by high fertility on the part of those with a lower standard of living. This is especially significant in such cases as those of ancient Rome and the contemporary western world where the

²² I. Taylor, *The Origin of the Aryans*, Chap. i; W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, Chaps. vi, xvii; F. Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, Chap. i; A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, Chap. iv; R. H. Lowrie, *Culture and Ethnology*, Chap. ii; R. R. Marett, *Anthropology*, Chap. iii; R. B. Dixon, *The Racial History of Man*. This literature as a whole is critically surveyed in F. H. Hankins' forthcoming book on *The Racial Basis of Civilization*. A model study illustrating the beginning of a scientific approach to the problem of the mental capacity of racial groups is Kimball Young, *Mental Differences in Certain Immigrant Groups*. Adequate work of this sort, however, will need to be done in the country of the nativity of these "racial" groups. An ideal example of objectivity in treating the history of a "racial" group is to be found in H. M. Kallen, *Zionism and World Politics*.

²³ This literature is summarized and criticized by Hankins. A fine survey of the history of the racial mythology is contained in T. Simar, *Etude critique sur la formation de la doctrine des Races* (Brussels, 1922).

operation of the selective process is suspended or mitigated through charity and artificial aid to the lower strata in the population. If this hypothesis of the differential birth-rate is true, it would imply the gradual deterioration of the physical stock of any high civilization, and place definite limits on the continued existence of any such society unless this tendency is offset by the intrusion of a new ruling class or the adoption of a positive system of eugenics. These problems have attracted the attention of Galton, Pearson, Vacher de Lapouge, Dumont, Jacoby, Schallmayer, Carr-Saunders, Holmes, Conklin, Hankins, Pearl and others, and constitute a line of analysis of the greatest importance for historians. Unfortunately, the absence of vital statistics prior to the nineteenth century makes this sort of material highly elusive and unreliable for the historian of early ages, though historians like Tenney Frank have recently suggested that probably the decline of Rome was due in large part to racial decay and mixture, and Beloch has discussed with acumen the population problems of antiquity. But for the historians of modern times, particularly those dealing with new countries affected by imperialism and immigration, this line of analysis will prove of extreme value, a fact already recognized by such progressive historians as Farrand and Schlesinger. Individual and class differences of a psychic and biological type are likely to prove a much more useful key to a certain aspect of history than mythical or indeterminate racial differences.²⁴

In the matter of the analysis of religious origins, anthropology has made great strides since the days of Spencer and E. B. Taylor, though it is freely admitted that both of these men made notable contributions to our understanding of the origin and genesis of religious phenomena. Perhaps the most novel and important contribution of anthropology to the proper approach to religious phenomena has been its provision of the proper background for such investigation in the general consideration of the intellectual develop-

ment of man. Many significant types of work in this field of primitive mentality, whether an intensive concrete study such as Paul Radin's *Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian*, the more generalized work of Lévy-Bruhl on *Primitive Mentality* and F. C. Bartlett on *Psychology and Primitive Culture* or the critical and comparative studies of representative theories of primitive mentality such as the last portion of Goldenweiser's *Early Civilization*, have coöperated in producing the only adequate perspective for a study of such special phases of the psychological evolution of the race as the history of religious beliefs and practices. They also provide the logical introduction to the study of intellectual history, as cultivated by James Harvey Robinson and his disciples.

The most important phase of the specific progress in the history of religion has been the discovery of the fact that the basic aspect in religion of all types is an apprehension of the supernatural world, and the thrill which comes as the emotional core of the reaction to this recognition of the supernatural. The key to this analysis of the origin of religion was hit upon by Bishop Codrington in his work among the Melanesians a generation ago. His theories were tested out in many other areas and found to be confirmed by an imposing array of data drawn from widely separated regions. The implications of this view, which proves Tylor's theory of animism to explain a later rather than the primordial phase of religion, have been synthesized and applied by such writers as Marett, Hubert, Mauss, Durkheim and Goldenweiser. While anthropologists have traced the development of religion from the vague reaction to an undifferentiated supernatural power, through the stages of animism, the classification and hierarchy of spirits, and the elaborate rituals of magic and worship, yet it is clear that the thrill from the supernatural furnishes the vital emotional element in all religions which possess any real life, and all types of ecclesiastical exercises are devoted to one or another form of effort successfully to manipulate supernatural power in the interests of the group.²⁵

Particularly important for history has been the development of a really scientific comparative

²⁴ See the summary of this material in *Evolution in Modern Thought*, Chap. x; and A. A. Tenney, *Social Democracy and Population*. The most important recent book on the subject is S. J. Holmes, *The Trend of the Race*. See also E. M. East, *Manhood at the Cross-Roads*. Cf. T. Frank, "Race Mixture in the Roman Empire," in *American Historical Review*, 1916; M. Farrand, "Immigration in the Light of History," in *New Republic*, December, 1916; and A. M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, Chap. I. There is a good history of this literature in R. Gonnard, *Histoire des doctrines de la population* (Paris, 1923).

²⁵ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*; R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*; A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, Chaps. x-xi, and numerous articles and reviews, particularly his "Magic and Religion," in *Psychological Bulletin*, March, 1919, and bibliography appended.

religion based upon the latest anthropological researches and methodology. Back in the early eighteenth century, in the period of the Deists, all men were regarded as potentially Christians, even if unconscious of it, because everywhere man was thought to believe in the essentials of the "natural religion," to which Christianity itself conformed. Now, through the labors of Reinach, Carpenter, Moore and the contributors to the great composite work of Hastings, it is seen to be as accurate to say that all men are "heathen." The unity and similarity of religious attitudes and institutions are far more impressive than the differences, many of which can be referred to cultural backwardness or advancement which is independent of religion. Before this sort of approach the uniqueness of Judaism and Christianity immediately disappears. By an ingenious compilation, Professors Kroeber and Waterman have shown the Hebrew creation tale in Genesis to be akin to similar mythology the world over. Delitzsch has proved the particular Hebrew variety to be an importation from Babylonia. Robertson Smith, Winckler, Rogers, and Delitzsch have demonstrated that Judaism possesses significant affinities with the religions of the other Semitic peoples in the Orient, sufficient to render absurd any such notion as that of their tribal God, Yahweh, being identical with the omnipotent and omniscient ruler of the universe of universes, though a candid analysis of his character as revealed in the Old Testament should have furnished adequate proof of this centuries ago, as it did, in fact, to Marcion in the second century of the Christian era. In regard to Christianity, the application of the anthropological method has been equally disconcerting, and has entirely disrupted the Christian Epic. Walter R. Cassels, Percy Gardner, Nathaniel Schmidt, F. C. Conybeare and Edward Carpenter have, among others, applied the methodology of anthropology to the interpretation of Christian origins and have proved that it conforms entirely to the general pattern of genesis and behavior established for other world religions. Biblical criticism, applied to the New Testament, has removed the element of supernaturalism from the biographies of its founders as thoroughly as Old Testament criticism has from those of its heroes. Hatch, Cumont, Loisy, Glover, and Carpenter have studied the influence of contemporary religions on Christianity, and have amply proved that

it cannot be regarded as a "faith once for all delivered unto the Saints," but is rather a syncretic product, compounded out of Hebraic lore, Hellenistic philosophy and the purification and salvation ritual of the contemporary mystery cults. The study of the history of Christianity by Harnack, Lea and others has shown that there has been as little of the supernatural in the subsequent development as there was in its origins.²⁶

Historians of the progressive camp have not failed to readjust their views to conform with this progress in the study of religious origins. In the histories of oriental antiquity by Meyer, Breasted, Rogers, Olmstead, Winckler and others, Hebrew history is treated in a purely secular manner and not awarded the disproportionate space assigned to it in Patristic and Scholastic historiography. This point of view has at last been brought over into text-book writing by Professor Breasted. In the history of Israel, the supernatural element has been largely eliminated from the days of Wellhausen to the present time. Even in regard to Christianity itself, the alert and courageous historians have attacked the problem in a wholly secular fashion, as evidenced by Shotwell's study of the Eucharist and his consideration of the status of orthodoxy in the light of modern thought, by the monographs of his students on various phases of Christian origins and institutions, by Kirsop Lake's brilliant interpretation of the history of Christianity through the Patristic period, by Preserved Smith's history of the Eucharist in the light of anthropology, and his fine secular study of the period of the Reformation, by Lynn Thorndike's history of medieval magic, and by innumerable European students of various topics in church history. It is still true, however, that, at least as regards text-books, the taboo upon a secular analysis of Christianity is stronger than that upon a frank treatment of Judaism, as is evidenced by the difference in the character of Professor Breasted's treatment of the Jews and Professor Robinson's analysis of Christian origins in the same text-book series. It was one of the real services of Mr. Wells' recent work to set forth before a great audience a secular statement of the origins and expansion of Buddhism, Christianity and Mohammedanism. It is safe to predict, Mr. Bryan notwithstanding, that

²⁶ I have briefly summarized this development in the *Pedagogical Seminary* for June, 1922. See K. Lake, *Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity*.

in another generation scholarship in the historical field will not longer be impaired by the hypothesis of a unique revealed religion.²⁷

In the field of the study of social organization, modern critical anthropology has revolutionized the position of Morgan and his disciples. It has shown that there is no proof of uniformity of institutional development among the diverse peoples of the planet. Variation seems to be quite as much the rule as unity and resemblance. Again, it is clear that the old theory of a succession of promiscuity, maternal domination, and paternal control has no substantial foundation. Nor has the notion that primitive democracy is correlated with backward material culture and monarchy with advanced civilization. The "Folk-moot" obsession has been dissipated by showing that the folk-moot was nothing unique, but was a tribal assembly which can be duplicated in many places among existing savages, and by proving through more intensive study that there was nothing essentially democratic in the folk-moot, a fact recognized by Brunner in German legal history a generation ago. Democracy is something which is a product of a combination of social situations since the Industrial Revolution and conditions of American frontier life. While, through its study of primitive social organization, anthropology has acquired a reliable technique for the critical analysis of social institutions, the complicated social situations of the present day require the collaboration of sociology, and it is here that anthropology and sociology merge in the service of social analysis. Following the clues offered by sociologists like Spencer, Oppenheimer, Gumpłowicz, Ratzenhofer, Kovalewsky, Hobhouse and Small, who relied quite as much upon ethnographic as sociological data, writers like Schmoller, Sombart, Levasseur, Webb, Cole, Tawney and Veblen and his disciples have made the most significant contributions yet offered to the analysis of modern social organization, as conditioned by the hitherto unparalleled importance and influence of economic factors. One important result of this line of analysis has been to diminish the relative interest in the state, and to show it to be but one among many important social institutions.²⁸

In regard to law and property the comparative and historical approach of anthropology has stimulated suggestive new lines of analysis. In the study of law it has prompted better work along the comparative line of approach, and has formed the basis of the new type of historical jurisprudence represented by Maitland, Vinogradoff and others. This type of approach to legal studies has shown the absurdities of the natural law and analytical modes of legal interpretation, and proved clearly enough that there is nothing mystical about law, which evidences infinite variety in its motives and forms of expression and is justified in its existence only through its serving of definite and indispensable social ends at a particular time or place, a point of view which has been elaborated by Dean Pound and the sociological school.²⁹ In its contributions to the history of the institution of property, the critical anthropology has been of real service to history. Lowie, Hobhouse and others have shown by a wealth of evidence that there is no more proof that the facts of human usage throughout the world support the notion of the primordial and unlimited right of private property than they do the conception of a pure original communism. There are no peoples now in existence who do not have at least some elementary property notions, and the institutions of group and private property have shown the greatest variety of form and manifestation. Property ideals and practices of types varying from those of Kropotkin to those of Judge Gary, can have no justification save that of superior adaptability to the needs and uses of the particular group at a given time, the determination of which must be turned over to sociologists and economists.³⁰ In approaching the problem of the relative influence of the individual and the group, psychology and biology have probably been more effective than anthropology in their influence upon historians, yet ethnographic evidence is often appealed to in this regard which seems to indicate that in primitive society the average individual counted for less and the prominent individual for more than is the case today. In general, it is true that, under the influence of Lamprecht and his disciples, the modern cultural historian tends to lay more stress on the socio-psychic and less on

²⁷ The significance of this is probably best indicated by Professor J. H. Robinson in his *Mind in the Making*. This does not necessarily carry with it the implication that historians will cease to esteem as valuable to society a rational and dynamic religion.

²⁸ R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*; H. E. Barnes, *Sociology and Political Theory*; G. D. H. Cole, *Social Theory*; R. M. MacIver, *Community: a Sociological Study*.

²⁹ Roscoe Pound, *Interpretations of Legal History*; see Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 397-426.

³⁰ Lowie, *op. cit.*, Chap. ix; L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, Chap. viii; R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*, Chaps. i-v; S. and B. Webb, *The Decay of Capitalist Civilization*.

the individual-psyche than was the custom of the conventional political historians of the last generation. Yet, the more original and independent of the newer type of historians take an eclectic position, and allow for the importance of dominating personalities, while always remaining conscious of the necessity of their adaptability to the surrounding environment if they are to be conspicuous or successful.³¹

Summarizing the contributions of cultural anthropology to the newer or cultural history it may safely be maintained that anthropology has furnished the temporal and institutional perspective for history, and is in many ways the true background and threshold of history, that it has

³¹ See the judicious statement by William James, *The Will to Believe*, pp. 218ff. See also the papers by Webster and Chopin in *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1917.

for the first time given a concrete and adequate basis for the conception of the unity of history, that it has supplied history with the most perfect of analytical techniques for the interpretation of cultural processes and complexes, that it has worked out in an admirable manner the laws and processes of cultural development, that its wealth of comparative data should furnish the best imaginable antidote for chauvinism, bigotry and conservatism, that it has destroyed the racial basis of national arrogance, and that it will prove progressively more valuable as an auxiliary science to history, as the latter comes to be more and more concerned with the explanation of cultural development and less and less absorbed in the narration of political events.³²

³² These varied and important contributions are probably best combined and synthesized in C. Wissler, *Man and Culture*.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS

ARNOLD BENNETT HALL

A POLOGISTS for the unscientific status of political science have been prone to suggest that the hostility generally encountered by new political theories is partially to blame for the existing condition. They like to compare the rewards that are generously bestowed upon those who achieve discoveries in the fields of natural science with the suspicion and censure frequently accorded to the contributions of the political pioneer. This is a tempting, if not a persuasive line of thought. There can be no doubt as to the popular attitude being decidedly different towards the two types of scholarly effort. But the result should be the encouragement of a real science of politics, rather than the reverse, when we seek to account for the differences just noted.

The explanation of the popular approval that is accorded research projects in the fields of material science seems to lie in the fact that discoveries in such fields are based upon objective evidence, capable of tangible demonstration, while discoveries in political science have been too frequently the products of a priori reasoning and speculative processes, without any ascertainable basis of fact or evidence. In other words, they have been too frequently guesses and not discoveries.

The obvious remedy to this very unfortunate situation is to find a way by which political science may be put upon a basis of fact. Whenever political generalizations can be backed up by an array of objective evidence, and political theories postulated upon scientifically ascertained facts, we will not only be perfecting a scientific system of politics, but we will be placing political research in a position of dignity and influence, something akin to that enjoyed by the material sciences. But political science can not win the public confidence or receive generous recognition, nor is it entitled to, until it can bring itself into the realm of reality and fact.

The need of this development is obvious. Not a day passes but what calls for some public decision in the domain of politics. These decisions may be of the utmost importance to the public weal. Yet it is only too frequently the case that the decision must be made without any adequate basis of sound theory or understanding of material facts. For the process of government must go on and decisions must be made. These processes can not be delayed until the slowly moving methods of political research can point the way. This means that the only hope of putting public administration upon a scientific basis, is the de-

velopment of a body of scientific principles of politics, based upon actual facts, and capable of being applied to the solution of the concrete problems that daily come before the government for its decision.

Take for example the problem of the direct primary. This has been experimented with in a number of states for from ten to twenty years. It is still an unsolved problem with which many states are struggling. Political writers have written thousands of pages regarding it, and yet, with a few brilliant exceptions, these articles have contributed nothing to the solution of the problem. They have been confined to a detailed description of the specific laws, or a comparison of the legal provisions, or a history of their development, but they have been silent on the real issue of what have been the actual results of the primary in its operation. What has been its effect upon party responsibility, upon the type of candidates for public office, upon the expense of campaigns, and upon the conduct of the man in the office? The careful ascertainment of these basic facts and an accurate generalization, based upon them, would place the public and the members of the legislature in a position to make an intelligent decision regarding this important problem. Until this is done, public policy must frequently be controlled by prejudice, guess work, and ignorance. What is true here is true of countless problems whose decisions are constantly demanded.

The difficulty in the way of a scientific approach to these problems is the lack of technique. We have no scientific method of approach. We have not been accustomed to think in such terms. We do not always seem to realize what facts are material to a given question. We have had little experience in finding, collecting and dealing with the facts that are material. We do not know how to isolate the variable from the constant factors in a given situation. In short, we do not have a scientific technique of political science.

It was the consciousness of this fact that led a group of seventeen persons, who were attending the American Political Science Association meeting at Chicago in December, 1922, to meet at the call of the writer, and to set in motion the movement for the National Conference on the Science of Politics. The writer was asked to serve as

chairman and to organize an executive committee to arrange for the first conference. The committee as finally organized was as follows: Frederick P. Gruenberg, Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia; A. N. Holcombe, Professor of Political Science, Harvard University; C. E. Merriam, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; Luther Gulick, Secretary, Director of the National Institute of Public Administration; Arnold Bennett Hall, Chairman, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

The University of Wisconsin was chosen as the meeting place of the first conference and September 3-8, 1923, was the date fixed.

The committee, conscious of the fact that questions of method could be dealt with only in connection with some specific project of research, organized the conference into round table groups and assigned to each a definite subject. The list of round tables and their leaders follows: (1) Political Psychology, C. E. Merriam, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; (2) Survey Methods and Psychological Tests in Civil Service, W. E. Mosher, Bureau of Municipal Research, National Institute of Public Administration; (3) Research in Public Finance, F. P. Gruenberg, Director of Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia; (4) Legislation, H. W. Dodds, Editor of *National Municipal Review*; (5) Political Statistics, L. D. Upson, Director of Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research; (6) Public Law, E. S. Corwin, Professor of Jurisprudence, Princeton University; (7) Nominating Methods, V. J. West, Professor of Political Science, Stanford University; and (8) International Organization, P. B. Potter, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

The work of the round tables was two fold: First, to formulate into hypothetical principles the important questions pertinent to the subject assigned, and, secondly, to find the best methods of testing out the validity of the hypotheses on a fact basis. Each round table met each morning and afternoon, and in the evening there was a plenary session of all the members to which the round tables were required to report the tentative results of the day's work.

At this time it is difficult to estimate just what was accomplished at the conference. It is per-

haps significant that at the last session it was voted unanimously to hold another conference next year, following the same general plan. A number have informed the writer that as a result of the conference, new courses have been established, or old ones reorganized along more scientific lines. The reports of some of the round-table groups are being successfully used as the basis of seminar work in several institutions. It is a most encouraging sign that almost a hundred men, representing twenty-two states and forty-two institutions, would come to Madison, at their own expense, and at the sacrifice of vacation time, to spend a week of the hardest kind of toil in grappling with the problems of technique and method. In the light of these considerations, the declaration of one of the most distinguished scholars of the country, that this conference "marked a new day in the development of political science" may yet be justified as accurate prophecy.

AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

At the recent meeting of American social science associations, held in Washington, a project for the publication of an encyclopaedia of the social sciences was offered for consideration. The Sociological Society appointed a committee to confer with representatives of other groups. The Economic Association approved discussion of the enterprise and will presently announce its conferees. The Political Science Association will act upon the proposition, through its council, at their first meeting. Members of other bodies have expressed their interest in promoting such coöperation.

It is significant that scholars in various branches of social science feel the need of an authoritative summary of results in related fields. It is timely that social investigators undertake an inventory of their collective work when the world is asking for proven material with which to build sound economy and government. It is encouraging that social engineers perceive the necessity of defining more accurately their several problems. This gesture may stimulate greater progress in the science of society, as the French *Encyclopédie*, by consolidating the best information of its day, turned men's thought to more careful study of the world of nature. The social sciences have out-

grown the stage of schools of philosophy. They are now ready to begin organizing many scattering items of knowledge into a cogent body of principles.

The general plan suggested contemplates bringing together within the compass of a few volumes an analysis of the more important aspects of social life. This would probably include in part findings from adjacent fields of anthropology, history, sociology, economics and politics, comparative philology and aesthetics, religion, law and ethics. An example of even wider coördination is presented by the *Encyclopédie Scientifique*, now being published with the aid of the principal learned bodies in France. Whether or not the American work contemplated shall take the form of a dictionary of terms, a sequence of general articles, or a condensed series of outlines remains to be decided. In any event, it is agreed that each section shall present within the space allowed, the most thorough treatment available. Details of scope and method must obviously be placed in the hands of responsible editors.

To develop the scheme indicated, it is proposed that learned societies dealing with human relations each appoint a committee of three to collect and compare the opinions of their co-workers concerning the project. These committees can then exchange notes through a joint secretary. By May first a combined committee should be organized to consider general aspects of the work, such as scope and method, finance and editorial management. A conference of the whole committee during the summer may be arranged later. Results of such deliberation should be ready by next October to be put into the form of definite recommendations for discussion at the holiday meeting of the constituent societies. If endorsed or modified at that time, the project will be ready for active promotion under competent direction.

Meanwhile, to bring this matter to the attention of American students of the social sciences, and to obtain their prompt response, the following proposals are offered:

1. That every society interested print a copy of this notice in the next issue of its official journal.
2. That all executive officers of these societies be and are hereby urged to secure immediate appointment of three representatives from their body, whose names and addresses should be forwarded at once to the undersigned.

3. That these committees proceed forthwith to obtain from members of their societies expressions of opinion upon four points, viz.:

- a. Is an encyclopaedia of the social sciences desired?
- b. Suggestions concerning general scope and method of such work—subject matter, treatment and form.
- c. Plans for financing the undertaking.
- d. Names of competent persons for
 - i. Advisory Board.
 - ii. Editorial Staff.
 - iii. Contributors of special articles.

Pending organization of the joint committee to handle correspondence, communications and inquiries may be addressed to the undersigned:

HOWARD WOOLSTON, University of Washington, Seattle.
WM. F. OGBURN, Columbia University, New York City.
ALEXANDER A. GOLDENWEISER, New School for Social Research, New York City.

Committee for the American Sociological Society.

Members of the Sociological Society are urged to assist their committeemen by sending suggestions at once to one of the above.

Inter-State Reports from the Fields of Public Welfare and Social Work

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

A NATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE: A DEBATE

One of the most interesting and instructive discussions relating to the proposed national Department of Education and Welfare which we have discovered will be found in the four papers given below by Robert Kelso, Secretary of the Boston Council of Social Agencies and formerly Commissioner of Public Welfare for Massachusetts; Richard Conant, the present Commissioner; Sanford Bates, Commissioner of Correction for Massachusetts, and Herbert Parsons.

The JOURNAL has made all matters of Public Welfare in the technical sense of governmental departmental services looking toward "making democracy effective in the unequal places" one of its first interests since the first number and is pleased to present these viewpoints. It should be kept in mind that each of these officials was debating the subject through radio and that each argument should be read with the debate idea in view. The subject of the debate was: "Resolved, that there should be a Federal Department of Public Welfare at Washington." This does not mean that the present discussion represents the actual and permanent view of the speakers. We are glad to have discovered and "listened in" on "these few lines" and we hope that when they reach our readers "why, they will find you the same."—THE EDITORS.

I. AFFIRMATIVE

ROBERT W. KELSO

At the outset of this discussion we learn that the elements of a Department of Public Welfare proposed by the affirmative are already in existence—a Children's Bureau; a Bureau of Education; a Division of Indian Affairs; a Public Health Service. But these elements, instead of being arranged coherently under one head are at present scattered among existing departments just as they happened to grow. One is in the Department of Labor; another in the Treasury; still others in the Department of the Interior. Each must wait for the consideration of its problems until the more pressing affairs of the department have been attended to, and none has representation or opportunity for the consideration of its pressing matters in the cabinet.

It is my share in the discussion to point out to you the reason why these scattered bureaus have grown up. That reason constitutes a complete answer to the contention of our opponent who has just preceded me. He says, you know, that charity like crime is local, and that the national government should not meddle in matters which apply to the states. On the score of meddling

we believe him to be altogether sound. In his view of charity we think he is mediaeval. For the charity which he has in mind is only that old time phase of personal, friendly, neighborly relief to persons in distress. Charity in the sense in which we must use the word in this discussion regarding the Public Welfare is to be defined as social service, a thing of vastly greater import and infinitely more far reaching in consequence. The various public welfare bureaus now scattered through our Washington machinery have arisen out of the very fact that charity in its social service meaning has ceased to be local. They are eloquent evidence of the truth that the public welfare of your city or mine, of your county or mine, of your state or mine, has become definitely and forever the concern and the problem of the whole people.

It is not so many decades ago that the people of the United States lived an agricultural life, and many of them were frontiersmen. We were a country of distances. So recently is it that space and the seasons of the year were a serious obstacle to getting together, that we still inaugurate our president on the 4th day of March, that representing the winter traveling time to the capitol. It is only a little while ago that we had

no railroads, no steamships, no telephone, no telegraph, no regular mail delivery, and very little in the way of a weekly, let alone a daily press.

Now those days have gone. We have more railroad mileage than all the rest of the world. We have a telephone in almost every household. We have steamships, reducing the old six weeks voyage across the Atlantic to less than one week. We have even an aerial mail service; and as we stand here at Medford Hillside speaking, somewhere between 700,000 and 1,000,000 persons scattered from London to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Arctic to South America, are listening. We have eliminated space and time to such a degree that the world of today is no longer even similar to the world of a decade ago.

So great is the advance in chemistry, in physics, in industrial development, that the production of goods definitely approaches a great unit basis of operation; wherefore we build mighty cities about a single industry. And thinking so hard about the making of goods and the earning of dollars, we forget so to build those cities that play, which is the real business of childhood, is provided for, and family groups are herded together in cramped quarters with a view only to the economy of operation. So intensive is this movement in industry that human beings are arranged almost like spools upon a spinning frame to whirl about, each one with his distinct set of motions, hour after hour, day in and day out, year in and year out, all of them links in the long chain of production.

We have ceased to be a vast land dotted with households occupied by individuals isolated from each other. We have become one mighty people, with interests so closely and so vitally inter-related that the ill health of one is the misfortune of another; that the ignorance of your child is the drawback of mine; that the welfare of one town or one city, or one district can in no wise be injured without hurting the whole.

Shall we say then that such mighty problems as the conservation of child life, the treatment of women in industry, the sound standards of city building for purposes of sanitation and the protection of health, and the provision of public schooling for youth, are nevertheless the exclusive business of our smallest units of governments? The truth is that they are not; and that as a people we recognize the fact that they are not—recognize it so completely that with all our jealousy of fed-

eral development we nevertheless find the need of establishing a bureau which shall develop and is now effectually developing standards of child care and child treatment. We have a federal Department of Education which must develop standards of public educational service. We have a public health service which must lead the nation in that mighty educational campaign which shall change the conception of ill health into the philosophy of health itself. And if my line of reasoning is sound, it must follow that these nation-wide problems will continue to press harder in the future than they have in the past. The time has gone by for the old colonial conception of departmental organization and the time has arrived—indeed it is overdue—for the arrangement of our government service in the light of present day national needs. With all due respect to my learned opponent I remind him that charity once was the business of a few self-appointed philanthropists, but that social work is the business of democracy. This is the essential difference between the olden times and the new. It is the case for the affirmative that we meet the new need with new machinery. And lest our opponents feel that we are alone in our point of view, I take the liberty of quoting from a learned authority in constitutional law, the President of the United States, who in his first great message to Congress said this:

"For purposes of national uniformity we ought to provide, by Constitutional Amendment and appropriate legislation, for a limitation of child labor, and in all cases, under exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government a minimum wage law for women.

"I do not favor the making of appropriations from the National Treasury to be expended directly on local education, but I do consider it a fundamental requirement of national activity which, accompanied by allied subjects of welfare, is worthy of a separate department and a place in the cabinet."

II. NEGATIVE

SANFORD BATES

My colleague and I wish it distinctly understood that nothing which we may say this evening is to be interpreted as any argument against the necessity for scientific social work. We are

hoping to be able to demonstrate to you, however, that the federal government would not improve matters by establishing a separate Department of Public Welfare with a cabinet officer at its head.

1. Such a department is unconstitutional. While it may not be popular to refer to the Constitution with those who are impatient to bring in the millennium in social reform, nevertheless it is wise to make sure before we commit ourselves to the advocacy of a Federal Department of Public Welfare, that such a step would be supported by our highest court, as a legitimate exercise of federal government. It is common knowledge to every school boy that the seat of all sovereignty over our people is with the several states, that the basis of the federal government is a delegation of certain specified powers by the states to the national government and that the document which measures the extent of those delegated powers is the Constitution of the United States. Unless we can find, therefore, in the language of that historic document either express or implied delegation to Congress to do a certain act, the exercise of any such authority is unwarranted.

The preamble of the Constitution does refer to the promotion of the public welfare in general terms. By many judicial decisions, however, the preamble forms no part of the binding Constitution. Apart from this statement, no mention is made anywhere in the Constitution that the states intended to give up certain of their sovereign rights, among them the duty of caring for the welfare of their own citizens. Section 8 of Article 1 defines the powers of Congress as delegated by the states. The fiscal, commercial, martial, jurisdictional limitations of its power are therein enumerated, but nowhere does it refer to charity, correction or social endeavor, of any sort. The "elastic clause" of the Constitution, so-called, which has by judicial decision been stretched to the breaking point, and which gives Congress the power to make laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, can hardly be invoked to warrant a federated government caring for the work of public relief and re-habilitation.

2. It follows, therefore, that legally as well as logically, the states should retain the control over concerns of public welfare. Legally, because the Constitution requires it, and logically because

after all states differ greatly in population, topography, customs, traditions and temperaments. A law which would be suitable for Massachusetts would not do for Mississippi. What would be fair in Montana might not be in Michigan. Public aid and relief, laws governing poverty, infirmity and delinquency are local in nature, applied in smaller compass and can be most efficiently, economically and humanely administered by state governments.

3. And speaking of economy, hasn't the federal government about all it can do to make both ends meet now-a-days, without taking on any extra expenditures? Is there a citizen of the United States who isn't satisfied with the size of his federal tax bill, or who wants to see it any larger?

In 1902 our federal government appropriated for its purposes seven hundred and seventy-nine millions of dollars, and in 1912 nine hundred and fifty-nine millions of dollars, and in 1922 \$5,814,000,000, which by the way was a considerable drop from the war record of 1919—\$31,978,000,000.

Furniture of all kinds is high in price, but the United States government bureaus still hold the record as the highest priced kind of furniture that I know anything about.

4. Our federal government is the best in the world in many things, and not so good in others. It is splendid in its international affairs, as witness its action in dealing with the weaker countries, such as Cuba, Panama, Japan, China, etc. But it is not so good in its internal affairs. It is good at making war, but it spent a lot of money taking care of soldiers which never got to the soldiers. It passes a constitutional amendment to stop the sale and manufacture of booze, and we all say "Amen" to that, but it does *not* stop the sale and manufacture of booze. Some of you no doubt who paid an income tax in 1918 and also paid a lawyer to make out a return for you, which he probably didn't understand, are just now even finding out that you didn't pay enough and are being invited to pay some more. No, the experience of our government with its Veteran's Bureau, its prohibition enforcement and its income tax collection does not lead us to think that it would be a howling success in administering the difficult and arduous humanitarian tasks now so

admirably handled by state and local public welfare departments.

5. Do we need any more cabinet officers? Is there any man who knows enough about health, education, crime prevention, housing, children's work, aid and relief, etc., to be the final arbiter on all these questions? The national education people say "No." They want their own specialized department. The question of transportation many claim is large enough to warrant its having a department by itself. Public health workers, those interested in the delinquency problems and others have grave doubts as to the ability of any general welfare department to handle their particular problems. Until the need is more definitely established we should go slowly with any such proposition.

Faith, hope and charity, says the Good Book, and the greatest of these is charity, but charity finds its birth and growth in the individual human heart and it cannot be nurtured in officialdom. Let our government maintain armies, coin money, regulate the currency, provide a navy, carry our mails, collect duties and imports, maintain courts and dispense justice, but let us leave to our citizens and to our more compact and democratic divisions of government the bestowal of charity. In the sane way that the individual unfortunate prefers the quiet friendly service from a private source or from some brother in misfortune to a public dispensation, so will the people of our country prefer that their contributions to charity be given out of a full and understanding heart and not through the medium of a tax bill.

III. AFFIRMATIVE

RICHARD K. CONANT

Throughout the nation, the cities and the states have their departments of public welfare, but there is no national Department of Public Welfare at Washington. The Public Health Service is in the Treasury Department, the Children's Bureau is in the Department of Labor, the Bureau of Education finds lodgings in the Department of the Interior.

Our late President, Warren G. Harding, in his message to Congress early in 1921, said—"In the realms of education, public health, sanitation, conditions of workers in industry, child welfare, proper amusement and recreation, the elimination

of social vice and many other subjects, the government has already undertaken a considerable range of activities—but these undertakings have been scattered through many departments and bureaus without coördination and with much overlapping of functions which fritters energies and magnifies the cost. To bring these various activities together in a single department, where the whole field could be surveyed, and where their interrelationships could be properly appraised, would make for increased effectiveness, economy and intelligence of direction."

Social service has become so widespread in this country that in a single state—Massachusetts—it is carried on by over 1,000 private charitable corporations, expending over 33 million dollars a year; it is carried on by 355 cities and towns, and by the commonwealth in its State Department of Public Welfare, which has supervision over 80,000 persons. I can assure you that the 48 states are tackling these tremendous problems in at least 48 different ways. There is a crying need for a central federal department which, while it need not duplicate any of the work of the separate states, can guide them and make available to them the experience of all the states and of foreign countries. Great preventive movements in social service develop from such combined research and combined activity. Such a field is properly the field of the Federal Government which has for one of the objects of its Constitution—"to promote the general welfare."

The government should pay as much attention to protecting childhood in its right to health, happiness and education; as much attention to the best methods of caring for disease and poverty, to the protection of women, to the care of the aged, and to the far-reaching preventive measures in health, sanitation, recreation, and mental hygiene as it does to the development of the navy, the distribution of seeds, the raising of cattle and the maintenance of armies.

Public Welfare has become an important part of nearly every subordinate government organization within the United States. Let us follow President Harding's vision and make the nation's public welfare work more intelligent and more effective by creating a federal department, a department of the central government of the whole United States.

IV. NEGATIVE

HERBERT A. PARSONS

The proposal we meet is one to create a new and great federal governmental machine. Are there not sufficient facilities for access to the United States Treasury? If not, then a Department of Welfare would be ideal. The name has a charm all its own. It carries an implication that if there is any direction in which the beneficence of government has not yet run,—or if there is any in which it has not flowed freely,—a channel is to be provided.

The title has the further merit that it may mean anything,—not otherwise provided for; everything,—under a government that exists for general welfare; or nothing,—in any definite way.

Into such a department, so labelled, could be gathered all the welfare undertakings of the government. There is no existing department that has not its welfare features, related to its own service. To gather these into a department with welfare for its reason for existence is to accomplish two things:

(1) To take the various services away from their traditional and natural setting, and

(2) To dehumanize to that extent the departments in which there are now the expression of a relation of all government activities to the interests of humanity.

There is nothing to indicate that these interests are not as well cared for in the departments to which they are now related as they possibly could be in one that was even more miscellaneous.

It would indeed be a miscellaneous department, with interests very diverse and having no other bond than that of a sentimental interest.

The first requisite of a new department of government is a distinct public interest, with a view to expert direction. Such an interest, for example, is education. Some claim could be made to recognition of this concern of the nation with an educator at its head. Another is health. Its

administrator would of necessity be a medical expert. Child care,—the protection of the child life of the nation,—is such a distinct interest.

What is proposed is to bring together bureaus now eminently serving their objects under directors with expert qualifications and rolling them into one department,—under what sort of a secretarial chief? Is there the combination in one person of expertness in education, in medicine, in child care, in immigration, in conservation, in pure foods, in supervision of the Indians, in naturalization, in prisons,—to take a few out of the list of welfare bureaus that now scatter through the entire service?

A case could be made out for a department of education, by far less able advocates than our opponents of this evening. The public interest here is a commanding one. It is capable of direction by a great educational authority. To merge it in a department of miscellaneous bureaus would be to defeat the end sought.

Even as to a great special interest of the people it is a poor notion of government that in order to secure attention to it we must add to the group of the President's advisers. There is no indication that the President stands in need of advice. And none that any of the causes mentioned suffers neglect because he is not more fully advised.

But public welfare, so far as it has a distinct meaning, relates to the extension of relief. To use it in relation to the national government is to invite the transfer of the powers reserved to the states to the nation. That policy is already under severe and justified criticism. Set up a department of public welfare and you run up the white flag of surrender of the rights most sacredly guarded by the constitution. You open wide the way to the conversion of the United States government into a machine of social care, for which it is unfitted and for which it was never designed.

The proposal of such a department is the extreme height of that plea for bureaucratic government, which all the world's experience directs this American people to avoid.

A STATE HOME FOR BOYS

R. K. ATKINSON

"WELL, THIS looks as though the prodigal has returned and is applying for a position feeding the swine," said the Superintendent of the State Home as he took up the folder and glanced at the summary of recommendations clipped on the outside.

"Yes," said the Disciplinarian, "Jim got back last Friday and seems to think that caring for the pigs is the job that suits him best."

The people seated about the long table looked at their summary sheets for a few moments, and then the Superintendent spoke again: "I see that he has made this request both to the Psychologist and to the Educational Director. How about it? What is back of it?"

"I included this in my report," said the Psychologist, "because I felt that it was an indication of the type of lad that Jim is. I am afraid that he has a better time here than he does at home; if this is his 'far country,' it suits him better than his father's house. He is in danger of becoming a typical institutional boy, happy and orderly in the regular work and discipline of the institution, and a failure outside."

Speaking to the Psychiatrist, the Superintendent said, "What do you make out of this case Doctor? I note that you have said that there seems to be a definite psychosis."

"I could not get to the bottom of it. He is a very unstable type and seems to be easily upset, and there is some complication here which concerns the boy's father."

"Well," replied the Superintendent, "he does not seem to be so different from his father according to Miss W's report. Tell us about the home conditions, and what brought him back here," said he, turning to the field agent of the Parole Department who sat across the table.

"This seems," she said, "to be a case of incompatibility between the father and the boy; they cannot agree just because they are both so unstable and so much alike. The mother is a person of average intelligence, the home is fairly good and Jim says that he really loves his father, but they simply don't live together comfortably. I think this was the real cause of Jim's breaking his parole. He was reported as incorrigible, as a

truant from school. His teacher said that he does good work for a while and then seems to be utterly uninterested and often is a great disciplinary problem."

"Let's see," said the Superintendent, "according to the Physician's report he is well developed, in good health, almost sixteen years old; according to the Psychologist's report he is not retarded mentally, did average work in the academic school when he was here before. Now what does he need? Shall we let him take care of the pigs? What do you say?"

A few moments of thoughtful silence on the part of the entire group, then the Disciplinarian spoke. "I should say, half a day in school and half a day of hard work with one of the construction crews. Let's give him the hardest kind of work and at the end of three months, if his record is good, let's try parole again, and see if we can find some position for Jim where he will not have to live at home."

The Superintendent looked around the group, all of whom nodded assent, and blue-penciled his notation at the foot of the summary sheet. As I sat beside him watching, I noticed the notation in the last space on the sheet was November 12. This meant, he explained to me later, that on Monday the twelfth of November, if Jim's conduct was good and his case did not previously have to be considered from any disciplinary standpoint, it would automatically come up again at that time for consideration and review.

I was a visitor at the State Home and arriving there Monday morning was invited by the Superintendent to "sit in" at their regular weekly staff meeting. I had been in the room but a few minutes when I became intensely interested. Only a few cases had been discussed when I realized that this institution, caring for more than five hundred boys between the ages of nine and seventeen, was being conducted primarily on the basis of the welfare of the boys. The needs of the institution seemed to take but little of the time of the staff conference.

Jim was but one of a number of boys whose records came up for discussion. Fifteen were discussed with a view to their parole, six or seven

were new commitments to the institution, and the remainder were "reclassification cases." One of the latter was introduced by a note from the boy to the Disciplinarian, written in a boyish scrawl which read as follows:

"Dear Mr. E—

"I have been here for eight months. My record has been good all the time, and if I can go ahead and get my credits every week I ought to be ready for a parole in November. Can you arrange for me to work in the shoe shop some of the time while I am here. My step-father runs a shoe repair business and I could work with him outside of school hours if I learn something about his trade while I am here.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) John B . . ."

The case was reviewed as summarized by various departmental heads, and the order entered without question, and John will start next week in the shoe shop, learning something that ought to help him "make good" with his step-father.

Then there was the case of the boy working in the dairy, who wanted to learn the painter's trade. When this discussion began I thought I saw a case where the needs of the institution would necessarily have to come ahead of the welfare of the boy, for the Disciplinarian said, "Now remember that Mr. C . . . kicked last week when we took one of his boys from the dairy. He said then that he was already short-handed and I know that this lad is one of his best milkers." It was decided to defer action for two weeks. In the meantime an attempt would be made to find additional boys for this work so that there would be enough workers in the dairy when the new recruit for the paint shop should leave them. Here I thought I had discovered a real violation of their rule always to make the interest of the boy paramount, but I was told that several employees on the staff could in emergencies turn their hand to any type of work, so that boys might be assigned to work that was to their advantage.

Four hours and a half were given to careful consideration and discussion. "Do you do this often?" I asked. "Every Monday," was the reply, "though we generally have fewer cases and can finish in the forenoon."

During those hours, I received a new and vivid picture of the delinquent boy; not simply the conventional "bad boy" sent here by blind, impartial justice for punishment and training, but a very

epitome of the misfits and mistakes of our complicated civilization. I shall never forget Angelo. He had asked the Educational Director to support his request for parole, because he said his mother needed him at home. The Superintendent said, "But do you agree with the boy?" "Yes, I do," he replied. "But think of those bad home conditions," said the parole field agent. "Let's have Angelo come in and we will talk to him," concluded the Superintendent. I was inclined to disagree with this conclusion. Why bring a boy in to hear this discussion of his own case; what could he say to them all that he had not said to each of them? And then Angelo came. He was small, pitifully small. For a moment he stood just inside the door turning his cap in his hand, and then a smile came to his face as he recognized first one and then another of the group. He came over beside the Superintendent, who put one hand on his arm and began to talk to him. This was no case of a boy on trial—rather a friendly conference with those he knew and trusted. It wasn't what was said—just the atmosphere of the whole proceedings that made me feel this. I looked at the summary sheet before me. Italian-American, age fourteen years, eight months—impossible. He looked about ten or eleven. Physician's report, physical condition fair, no remediable defects. Psychologist's report, mental age 10.5, has made two years' progress in ten months since entering the Home, good manual ability, verbal handicap. Disciplinarian's report, excellent record, has made his credits regularly. Educational Director, good work in school manual of education. Home Investigator,—But wait—Angelo is answering questions. "And my mother needs me now" . . . "Sure, my step-father's been gone three months" . . . "a letter last week" . . . "she says she works" . . . "don't know where". . . "four" . . . "youngest born just after Christmas" . . . "oldest a girl six years" "two in between" . . . "never saw my father" . . . "don't know, I guess he died when I was little" . . . "only one own sister" . . . "three years older than I" . . . "she ran away just before I came here" . . . "told me she was going" . . . "step-father always jawing her" . . . "yes, she worked" . . . "sure, bring her pay envelope home" . . . "yes, selling papers" . . . "no, I

never liked him, don't think he liked me either" . . . "sure I can help my mother" . . . "no, not enough in papers, get a regular job" . . . "I'm almost fifteen. Think I can get my working papers. I could go to continuation school one day a week." "Well, Angelo," said the Superintendent, "we will consider this and let you know, but don't you think you had better wait until November? You will be fifteen then." Angelo's speech was rather hesitating but his brown eyes looked straight into those of the Superintendent as he said, "Well maybe, but mother, mother needs me," and so he went out and I looked back at my summary sheet to see just a word here and there. "Home conditions poor, mother overworked, poor health, small children, poor section of city, daughter in State Industrial School." I opened the folder and the first paper there was the record of commitment. "Truancy and petty larceny, theft from step-father with whom he lived."

I do not know what disposition will be made of the case. There are so many sides to it. The Parole Department will have to report further on home conditions and make sure of the job and look into that matter of the continuation school, but I hope Angelo gets his chance to try and take the place of the man who was always "jawing" and who has "been gone three months." It will be a heavy load for little Angelo, but I can still hear his manly words, "My mother needs me." I somehow feel that Angelo can make good.

And he was but one of five hundred. How simple it would all be if we could just handle them en masse and say to the Psychologist,

"Study these cases and give us a solution," or to the Doctor or the Educational Director, "You furnish the answer." But no, they are not just cases, they are boys each with his own physical, mental and psychic quirks and back of each is a home, or the lack of one, a community or the failure of one, a school or the excuse for one—the study of these boys brought to light the failures of the fundamental social agencies of our civilization as no less concrete presentation could possibly reveal them. We think of a correctional institution as a place where we are attempting to overcome the deficiencies and delinquencies of the individual boy, but when one has heard such discussions in detail and in connection with every one of the cases has either read or heard the report of the Home Investigator, we realize that the correctional institution for the juvenile delinquent is also a place where society is trying or at least should try to remedy some of the wrongs which its children suffer.

When the conference was over in the middle of the afternoon, I suddenly recalled that I had come to the State Home to learn what use they were making of play and recreation. It was no surprise to me to find that an institution that is planned and conducted with such a definite understanding of and sympathy for boy life, rings out during several hours of the day with the shouts and laughter of boys at play, and that they are putting into practice what we all believe in theory, that play offers an opportunity for training children physically, morally and socially, and that habits of wholesome recreation for free time are powerful aids to right living.

ARE ORPHAN ASYLUMS NECESSARY?

STUART A. QUEEN

IN THE winter and spring of 1923, a study was made, by the writer, of four children's institutions in a middle western state. While the intention was to make an efficiency study rather than anything else, the findings led almost inevitably to the question—are these institutions needed at all? To indicate some of the facts which led to this skeptical attitude, a brief summary will be offered of the conditions discovered in this group of four institutions.

Most significant were the statistics assembled from such records as these institutions possessed.

First, as to the family statistics of the children, it was found that only 7 out of 212 studied were known to be full orphans; 68 were half orphans, while the remainder represented various types of broken families. Reduced to percentages, 3.3 per cent were whole orphans, 32.5 per cent were half orphans, while 64.2 per cent were believed to have both parents living. Because the data were so very meager in the records of these institutions, the nature of the family difficulties could not always be determined with much accuracy. However, so nearly as it was possible

to determine, 23 children were in the institution because parents were divorced, 49 because they were "separated," 37 appeared to have been deserted by at least one parent, and others seemed to be in the institution because of rather temporary emergencies due to sickness in the home, or imprisonment of the father.

Although these institutions are known as orphanages, they seem to be used very largely as receiving homes. Out of 151 children who left the institutions during one year, 51 had remained less than a month, and 33 one month but less than three months. Stated in terms of cumulative percentages, 33 per cent remained less than a month, 51 per cent remained less than three months, and 69 per cent remained less than six months. This may be much better than if the children remained longer, but it should not be imagined that these institutions are places from which children go out into supervised homes. On the contrary, the great majority of them return to their parents and that too without evidence of any constructive work being done.

Of 120 children whose disposition could be determined from the records, 64 returned to their mothers, 19 to their fathers, 6 to both parents, and 12 to other relatives. Reduced to percentages, this means that 74 per cent were discharged to the care of one or both parents, 10 per cent to other relatives, and only 16 per cent had to be otherwise disposed of.

The full significance of these figures can scarcely be understood without reference to the character of the records kept by these four orphanages. Each institution is supposed to keep a record card for each individual child. This record which is prescribed by the Division of Child Hygiene of the State Board of Health, includes the following items: Name? Age? Date? Color? Sex? Nationality? Religion of parent? Name and address of father, whether living or dead and his occupation? Name and address of mother, whether living or dead and her occupation? Whether parents are separated, deserted, divorced or not married? Why is child admitted? Is child legally relinquished, committed by court, boarded? Report to whom? A similar card is supposed to contain data entered upon the dis-

charge of any child. A third card is intended to contain the findings of the medical examiner at the time of admission. On another blank are to be entered the results of the medical and dental inspection which is presumed to be made once a year. Record of all sickness is required to be kept and sent with the other data to the Division of Child Hygiene once every quarter.

It will be observed by the reader that no provision was made in these requirements for genuine social histories of the children and their families, so that even if the required information were regularly and accurately secured and entered, many important facts would still remain unknown. So far were these institutions from supplementing the minimum of required record keeping, that they failed to have much information called for by the blanks. Two of the institutions were found not to be keeping the cards at all, but were using antiquated book registers instead. Numerous obvious errors were found in these books. In one register three successive records were dated August, February and May, 1921. The discharge of some children from the institution was not recorded at all. The admission of some children was recorded twice in different parts of the book. Some dates were obviously incorrect. For example, one child was recorded as having been admitted August 11, and having been born August 21 of the same year. Two brothers were recorded as having been born respectively, November 27, and December 17 of the same year.

Upon inquiry of the various superintendents and matrons, the writer was informed that the only investigation ever made consists in an interview with the person who brings a child to the institution. Sometimes this appears to be a very casual inquiry, and at other times a sort of inquisition. In practically no case are there home visits, and rarely is information secured from other social agencies. In one case reported to me, a child was dismissed from one of these orphanages to receive medical examination and treatment for what was believed to be syphilis. Instead, however, of going to the hospital, this child in some way or other was taken to another of these institutions where he was admitted with-

out question. The matron of the second institution knew the child had been in the first, but made not the slightest effort to secure any pertinent information about the youngster.

From these records, or absence of records, it is very plain that the institutions do not have the essential facts about their children, and do not verify the facts which they think they have. Indeed, the absence of information was so great that we can properly say that the institutions could show no evidence that any single child needed their care or that any child benefited from their care. This is not intended as a denial of the possible fact that some children may need their care, and that some may benefit from it, but it does seem a just ground for skepticism; and at the very least it is a challenge to the institutions to keep such records that it will be plain in each case just what the facts are.

In a recent book on record keeping, Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield makes the following comment: "A discerning record reader can hit close to the mark in taking the records a worker writes as a gauge of the effectiveness of her work. It is not too much to say that a case-work agency that keeps poor records is giving ineffective, or superficial treatment to its clients."¹ It may be argued by some that an orphanage is not a case-work agency. My reply is that whatever other functions it may undertake, either the orphanage or some affiliated agency can not afford not to do thorough-going social case-work.

Some reference has already been made to the manner of admitting children to these institutions. It remains to be said that they had practically no definite policies as to the types of children which will be received, except that there were age limits, and that colored children were very rarely accepted. Only one of the four institutions insisted regularly upon a medical examination and report from a physician before the child was admitted. None of the institutions had a receiving ward. Hence in all four every new child was put at once into a room with children who had been there for some time.

It has already been shown that the great majority of children returned to their parents after leaving the institution. There is no evidence of any reconstructive work with the family

during the child's absence, nor even of an investigation to determine the status of the home at the time the child's return was desired; neither does there appear to be any follow-up to see how the children get along after leaving the institution. Of the rather small number who are placed in foster homes, some go out to families never visited by the institution's staff or other social agencies. Reliance is usually placed upon the information given by local clergymen who may or may not be competent to perform this function. The superintendent of the institution which places the largest number of children in foster homes stated that his follow-up work consisted in sending out a blank once a year to the nearest clergyman of his denomination.

Of the institutional care itself, I have not much to say, because this is perhaps the best phase of the work of these institutions. Yet even here I discovered a number of rather surprising conditions. For example, it was evident that dietaries were not carefully planned and it seemed almost certain that many of the children did not receive sufficient milk. In one orphanage young children were found receiving coffee twice a day. All the children of school age were supposed to be attending the public schools, which in this situation at least, was the best thing that could happen. Recreational equipment was found to be quite inadequate; play space was seriously limited; and supervision of the children's leisure time was particularly noticeable by its absence. It was difficult for me to learn the essential facts about discipline and about the children's participation in institution house-keeping. In two cases I had very serious doubt about both these, but was unable to verify them.

The children's clothing, on the whole, was adequate, but not attractive. There was nothing about it to inspire pride among the children. In at least one of the orphanages the children did not have individual clothing, but wore each week whatever happened to be handed out from the drawer or closet. Sleeping arrangements were not satisfactory in any of the institutions. At one place the girls were sleeping two and three in a bed, and in another the cubic air space per bed was very low. In a third, rubber sheeting seemed to be entirely absent, although there were many children under three years of age. As to supervision at night, I can make no definite state-

¹ Sheffield, Ada E.: *The Social Case History*. Russell Sage Foundation, 1920, p. 13.

ment. As to personal possessions, girls at one of the orphanages had individual dolls, and girls at another institution had various articles kept in individual drawers or boxes. Otherwise, the children in this entire group of institutions had practically no personal possessions—in some cases not even individual clothing.

Other parts of the study dealt with the governing board and its activities, the staff, finances, publicity, etc. From the data assembled it was frankly not possible to say conclusively that all four of these institutions should be closed, but it would seem quite within the limits of safety and truth to insist that *not one of the institutions had demonstrated that it was really needed*. After presenting some of these facts and the conclusions based upon them to a Parent-Teachers' Association I was interested to clip from the local newspaper the following Sunday, the communication which I quote here because it illustrates so well the usual sentimental attitude toward orphan asylums, and the utter failure to get the point of my remarks. This communication was signed by the matron of one of the institutions, the judge and probation officer of the juvenile court, police matron, and municipal welfare officer.

"The question has been asked: 'Do we need orphan homes in ——— because only seven real orphans have been found out of 212 that were in the orphanages last year. I would like to give you a few facts in regard to this.

"In the last fifteen years, I have had under my care over 1,300 children and if it had not been for the orphan home, many of these would have been out on the street, and God only knows what would have become of them. A number of their mothers have died, and the little children have been left without care. Also there are some cases where their fathers have died, and the poor mother is left without a home or means to provide for her little flock.

"What can she do? She does not wish to part with her children forever, so she is compelled to work. She goes out to find a place for her children, but although she tramps the city over till she is worn and tired, no place can she find for her little ones. No private family wishes to be bothered with her children and if she should find someone that would take them, they would ask from \$5 to \$6 a week for their board, and that she cannot pay, as she only gets \$12 and has her own board and room rent to pay.

"With a sad heart she goes to her room. The rent is up and her money gone, so she must seek shelter for her babies somewhere else.

"She goes to the police matron or welfare board and tells her story. After listening to it the officers tell her

there is an orphan home, where she can put her children and they will be cared for, and she will have the privilege of going and seeing them. How glad she is. What a load has been lifted from her heart.

"Then, again a number of the children's mothers are ill and they must be taken to the hospital. The visiting nurses are put to their wits' end to know what to do with the children, so again the orphan home is called, and the children are housed safely and cared for until the mother is able to care for them herself.

"Again a father and mother are arrested and taken to court, where they are found guilty and must be sent to jail. Then the cry comes from the probation officer, 'What can be done with the children?' The orphan home is again called up and asked if they can take three or four children. They are taken in, given a bath and heads cleaned. They generally are in a terrible condition. They are kept in the home until the court can provide a place for them.

"If ——— had as many more homes as they have, they would all be filled to overflowing. Not long ago a father came to our home and wished to leave his little 11-year-old girl, whose mother was dead. He had tried to get her in a private home, but couldn't find any one who would take her in. When told that we were full, and didn't see how we could take her in he said, 'Well I just don't know what to do. I suppose I can do as one man did, throw my daughter in the river.' We felt very sorry indeed for the father and said that we would crowd up and take the little girl in. How glad the father was. We could tell of a good many children that have been sent to the home by the welfare board, police matron, associated charities and juvenile court. Many children that have been found by the police are brought to the home in the middle of the night. Those children did not have a place to lay their heads, and were turned out into the cold. What would become of them, if it had not been for the orphan homes? And if the 212 children that were in the orphan homes of ——— had been turned out, they would have been on the streets without shelter and food. Who would have taken them in?"

In the face of this situation it seemed wise to make the following recommendations to this group of institutions and to the Community Chest from which three of them received a portion of their funds. The first recommendation was that there be established a central agency whose duties should be: (1) To investigate all applications for admission to these children's institutions. (2) To undertake the rehabilitation of the families to which these children belonged, in coöperation with other interested organizations. (3) To investigate homes before children are discharged, and to follow up children after they leave the institutions. (4) To find foster homes for children who can be better cared for thus than in institutions. (5) To supervise such

foster homes in coöperation with other organizations.

The second recommendation was that the existing institutions should be classified and institute a division of labor. It was suggested that one should serve as a receiving home, one as a day nursery, one as a home for low grade children, and one as a school for older children difficult to place in foster homes. Other recommendations had to do with the improvement of the present staffs, installment of a uniform accounting system, study of feeding by a competent dietitian, use of a Confidential Exchange, and the securing of mothers' pensions wherever these might seem advisable.

Some readers may be interested in comparing these findings and recommendations with those of Mr. Thurston's,² "Children's Survey of 1920 in Cleveland." Out of 5,000 children in orphanages, he found 8 per cent to be orphans, and 47 per cent to have both parents living. He also found that of all children leaving the institutions, 67 per cent were returned to parents or relatives, raising the question whether the child's home had improved and the original cause for its removal had been remedied. It was shown that the turnover in the various orphan asylums varied from 23 to 232 per cent a year. Let me quote from the report of this study which was printed in the *Survey* for February 15, 1923.

"Only one in five of the direct applications by families—originally the largest group among all applications

—shows real need of placement. In the other four it is possible to manage through the relief agencies, through placement with relatives, court action, medical care and so on."

"Recognizing always that each child's situation has unique factors and must be settled on its own merits, Cleveland workers endeavor to work out general principles of action for certain types of distress. For instance, for the widow and deserted woman, a point seems to have been reached where it is no longer necessary to place children because of poverty alone. Through the family agency and adequate mothers' pensions it is possible to keep the children at home with their own mothers. Leaving the best interests of the child out of consideration this is wise for purely financial considerations, since the cost of institutional care varies from \$3.50 to \$13.00 a week without interest on the investment, while a much smaller amount provides the competent mother with adequate funds to care properly for her children in her own home."

"The child of divorced parents should be placed only with great care. In the case of pending divorce, except in extreme emergencies, placements should be refused since studies everywhere have shown that relieving parents of the responsibility of their children encourages divorces and the children in the long run are the sufferers."

"It is useless to place the child neglected by its own parents, even where the parents are willing, unless action is taken to remove the cause of difficulties. If the evidence warrants, prosecution should be instituted and the parents placed on probation, so that while the child may be receiving outside care, the home is being built for the return."

"Only when every effort has been exhausted to secure proper care for a child, first in its own home, or, that failing, in a carefully selected and supervised foster home, should institutional care be considered."

² *Survey*, February 15, 1923, p. 638. National Conference of Social Work, 1922, p. 150.

³ Italics mine.

THE VARIANCE BETWEEN LEGAL AND NATURAL CAUSES FOR DIVORCE

ERNEST R. MOWRER

DEFINITION OF PROBLEM

STUDIES IN divorce may consider the family from three fundamental aspects: (a) as a natural organization for response, (b) as a cultural group, and (c) as a legal entity. Studies in the past, for the most part, have treated the family only as a legal unit. Where the family has been considered as a legal unit, emphasis has been laid upon the institutional and legal aspects of its organization. The cure for the problem of divorce appeared always to be a matter of legis-

lation or of administration. The human nature aspect of the problem was ignored.

As a natural organization, the family is the union of two human beings of opposite sex, with or without children, largely for the satisfaction which may be obtained by both in intimate relationship. In the human animal the desire for response¹ is so strong that in every human society

¹ Park and Miller (Old World Traits Transplanted, p. 28) define the desire for response as "a craving for the more intimate and preferential appreciation of others."

of which we know anything, the natural family has existed.

But a family is more than merely a natural organization. It develops within itself certain attitudes, sentiments, and ideals. That is, it develops a culture of its own beyond the culture of the larger community organization. The members of the family have a common feeling of oneness, a common consciousness of unity as over against other families and other cultural groups. Each family has its own universe of discourse wherein certain things have different meaning to the members of the family than to the outsider, due to a difference in past experience. The family, is then, a cultural organization as well as a natural organization for response. Both these phases will be considered in any study of divorce from the standpoint of human nature.

From the legal point of view, the family is a relationship between a man and a woman entered into according to a procedure established and defined by law,—that is, through marriage,—and includes the children which may be born or legally adopted into that relationship.

As the family relationship may be lawfully entered into only with the legal sanction of the group, in modern society, it is necessary likewise that before that relationship may be legally discontinued a decree of divorce must be secured. Just as through the marriage ceremony the sanction of the group is given to the relationship, so through divorce the group sanctions the discontinuance of that relationship.

In the final analysis, the family relationship is simply an organization of attitudes into what we may call the family complex, and the behavior centering about that organization. These attitudes assume the form of intimate identification and consensus between the members of the family, with a feeling of common purpose and of common interests. This we may call family consciousness. The breakdown in family life may be thought of, then, as a breakdown in family consciousness; that is, a disorganization of the familial attitudes which make up the family complex and the behavior resulting therefrom. Divorce becomes, then, nothing more than the recognition by the group, or state, that there has been a loss of identity between husband and wife, and that the family relationship has been terminated.

It follows that, if divorce is studied from the

point of view of human nature, what will be of interest will not be the legal causes of divorce, but the attitudes leading to the breakdown in family consciousness, unless the two are identical. That is, the interest will not be in divorce *per se*, but in family disintegration. As the discontinuance of family relations is only recognized legally where divorce is granted, divorce is the simplest criterion of the breakdown in family consciousness and of family disintegration, but it is not the cause nor does the breaking off of family relations always lead to divorce.

The purpose of this article is to show that the law does not recognize as causes for divorce the natural causes of family disintegration. Thus our divorce laws become molds into which the discord arising in family relations must be made to fit before the state will sanction a discontinuance of that relationship. This being true any attempt to remedy the divorce situation will be abortive so long as that attempt is based upon studies of divorce in which legal causes are confused with natural causes of family disintegration.

METHOD OF STUDY

The material in this article was taken from a study of one thousand divorce cases tried in the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois.² Two hundred were cases in which suit was brought in 1920, while the remaining eight hundred were filed in 1917. All records were taken from the files in chronological order, no selection of any sort being made. Suits brought on the charges of desertion, cruelty and adultery lend themselves more readily to such an analysis as I wish to make; therefore, only these will be considered here. These three major causes include approximately 86 per cent of the cases; i.e., 858 cases. However, in 311 of these it is impossible from the records to find out anything more about the situation than the legal cause indicates. This leaves 542 cases for an analysis of what appears to be the natural causes so far as can be ascertained from the court records. The percental distribution of these cases follows: (1) desertion, 54; (2) cruelty, 29; and (3) adultery, 17.

In each of these 542 cases the certificate of evidence was read and the "natural" cause summarized in descriptive terms. These epitomes were then classified on a common-sense basis for

² M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1921.

each of the three major legal causes. While these epitomes do not in every case represent adequate description of natural causes for family discord, due to the meagerness of the evidence, they do show a marked contrast to the legal causes.

DESERTION

The certificates of evidence in 295 cases in which divorce was granted for desertion reveal nine types of situations. These type situations will be referred to hereafter as the natural causes of family disintegration. The distribution follows:

Natural causes:	No.	Pct.
Financial tension.....	119	40.2
Desertion for another.....	39	13.2
Dissatisfaction with home or married life....	32	10.9
Infidelity	31	10.5
Drink and cruelty.....	29	9.9
Refusal to leave old home.....	23	7.8
Irregular habits.....	13	4.4
Irregular work and drink.....	7	2.4
Forced marriage.....	2	.7
Total.....	295	100.

Forty per cent of the 295 divorces granted for desertion culminated out of the financial or economic tension in family relations. That is, breakdown in the family relationship between husband and wife arose out of refusal of the husband to support his wife, refusal of the wife to support herself or to give her husband money, indebtedness or business failure, or any other situation in which the tension centered about questions of finance, which did not lead, however, to acts of cruelty, but to desertion.

Wherever it is clear in the evidence that one party left the other to live with a third party, whether the charge of adultery may or may not have been included in the bill along with desertion, but in which there was no evidence brought to prove illicit relations, only desertion having been established, the cases have been included under "desertion for another." There were thirty-nine of these.

"Dissatisfaction with home, or with married life" includes those cases where the dissatisfaction arose over the community in which the home was located, over the presence of kin in the home, or because the husband was not able to furnish the sort of home the wife was accustomed to. Here were included also those cases where one

party became tired of married life for reasons not revealed in the evidence, and those cases where the desire to follow a vocation separated the couple, usually being a desire on the part of the wife to become an actress or chorus girl. These cases numbered thirty-two.

Cases of desertion in which the tension between husband and wife centered about the suspicion by one, whether founded upon fact or not, that the other was untrue to the marriage contract, but where there was no proof of immoral conduct, have been classed as "infidelity." All cases of jealousy, as long as there was no abusive treatment resulting therefrom, have been included under this characterization, bringing the total to thirty-one.

Under the class "drink and cruelty" are those cases in which the couple quarreled about the other's drinking. In some instances this disagreement over drink resulted in cruelty prior to desertion. Twenty-nine were of this type.

In certain cases where the husband went to some distant place, his wife refused to accompany him; or where he came to the United States without his wife, sending for her later, she refused to join him; or after leaving her old home community with her husband she became dissatisfied with the new home in a short time and returned to the old. Twenty-three are of such a nature and may be characterized as "refusal to leave old home."

Desertion resulting from "irregular habits" are those cases in which the tension centered around staying out late at night, gambling and carousing. Late hours, in some instances probably led to suspicion that the offender was untrue to the other, in other cases simply to lonesomeness. Gambling and carousing meant, not only neglect of the wife, but often financial loss as well. There were thirteen of these cases.

"Irregular work and drink" indicates those cases where desertion was the result of discouragement from unemployment, irregular employment, or tension created by the refusal of the defendant to work regularly and refrain from drinking. There were seven of these.

The last class under desertion is "forced marriage" and includes only two cases where the husband married the wife through fear of the law after she had become impregnated by him, following which marriage he deserted her.

CRUELTY

The 156 cases of cruelty fall into six types of situations, the distribution being as follows:

Natural causes:	No.	Pct.
Financial tension.....	68	45.
Drink	43	28.6
Jealousy, infidelity, etc.....	22	14.6
Excessive and unnatural sexual intercourse	12	7.9
Irregular habits.....	6	3.9
Total.....	156	100.

Cruelty resulting from the "financial tension," sixty-eight cases, epitomizes those cases in which tension centered about the financial situation in the family as described under desertion, except that cruel acts were the direct result rather than desertion.

From the evidence it appears that in forty-three of the cruelty cases the inhuman acts were committed while the offender was in an intoxicated condition. "Drink" is used to characterize this situation.

Under "jealousy, infidelity, etc.," have been included twenty-two cases where cruelty was the result of tension centered about jealousy, and infidelity as defined under desertion. Whether adultery might have been made the ground for divorce in these cases, one cannot be sure, but the presumption is that it might have been.

"Irregular habits" epitomizes six cases in which the tension centered around irregular habits as described under desertion; i.e., quarrels about one person staying out late at night, gambling, and carousing. These irregular habits probably were indicative of infidelity in some instances.

ADULTERY

Three types of situations were revealed in the ninety-six cases of adultery as follows:

Natural causes:	No.	Pct.
Illicit intercourse.....	55	57.3
Living with another as spouse.....	33	34.4
Venereal infection.....	8	8.3
Total.....	96	100.

More than half of the adultery cases fall under the natural cause, "illicit intercourse." In these fifty-five cases the irregularity in the sex life of the individuals occurred while the couple were for all intents and purposes still living together, though one party may have been absent from home at the time. These irregular relations had

been, in other words, more or less promiscuous. There had been infidelity but not abandonment of the marital relation.

The eight cases classed as caused by "venereal infection" represent practically the same situation as described for "illicit intercourse." The detection of infection by the other made the innocent party think that his spouse had been untrue, though he may have contracted the disease before marriage. In both situations, however, the attitudes of the innocent person would be little different.

In the thirty-three cases epitomized "living with another as spouse," while from the legal point of view the act is just as serious as for the type "illicit intercourse," from the point of view of personal behavior there is an important difference. There had been abandonment of the marriage relation and entrance into a second family relationship, without, however, the sanction of the law.

SUMMARY ANALYSIS

That legal causes, in so far as the three major causes are concerned, are blanket terms has been demonstrated. But a classification which simplifies a mass of concrete material is not objectionable in itself. However, not only are desertion, cruelty, and adultery blanket terms, but they overlap. That is, the same type of situation may in certain instances lead to suit for divorce upon the ground of desertion, cruelty, or adultery.

Four hundred and sixty-six of the 542 cases just analyzed may be classified into types which overlap two or more legal causes as shown by the following table:

Natural causes:	Total		Legal Causes		
	No.	Pct.	Desertion	Cruelty	Adultery
Financial tension	187	40.1	119	68	..
Infidelity, jealousy, illicit intercourse, venereal infection	116	25.	31	22	63
Desertion for and living with another.....	72	15.5	39	..	33
Drink and cruelty.....	72	15.5	29	43	..
Irregular habits.....	19	4.	13	6	..
Total.....	466	100.	231	139	96

In forty per cent of these 466 cases the tension centered about questions of economics, which are distributed between the two legal causes, desertion and cruelty. In fifteen per cent there has been "desertion for another," or "living with another as spouse"—substantially the same situation in each instance—these represented by the legal causes, desertion and adultery.

While the evidence in the cases classed as "infidelity" is quite different from the legal point of view, from the evidence in the cases classed as "illicit intercourse," the first being circumstantial and the second testimonial, the situation in both classes is identical so far as attitudes are concerned. By combining these three groups one has 94 cases falling under the legal causes of desertion, cruelty, and adultery.

Nineteen cases have been classed as having culminated out of a situation where tension centered about certain irregular habits of one party. While these habits are usually expressed as gambling and carousing, they are in some cases reported in the evidence as staying out all night, or late at night, which probably in many instances represents infidelity. These situations culminated in divorces granted for both desertion and cruelty.

In the last class, amounting to over 15 per cent of all the cases upon which this summary analysis is based, and which have been classed under the epitome "drink and cruelty," the situation is substantially the same for both legal causes, desertion and cruelty.

This analysis of the situations culminating in divorce reveals that several types of situations

are common for suits brought upon two or more legal grounds. That being the case, any reliance upon the legal causes for explaining the situations resulting in the disruption of family relations is misleading. In other words, the same type of situation may be indicated by two or more legal causes.

It has been demonstrated that there is a variance between the legal causes for divorce and the natural causes of family disintegration. Legal causes represent the standards to which family discord must be made to conform before the state will grant divorce and sanction the discontinuance of the marriage relationship. But those standards are not at all in conformity with the personal standards of great numbers of our population. Neither do they represent causes of family disintegration, but rather results of family discord. This distinction has been confused in too many of the studies of divorce and has resulted in many abortive attempts to deal with the divorce problem. Therefore it would seem to be desirable that any attempt to remedy the present divorce situation should be based upon studies of the natural causes of family disintegration rather than upon studies of the legal causes for divorce.

Conferences for Social Work

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

JUNE 25—THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT TORONTO—JULY 2

The fifty-first annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work will be held in Toronto, Canada, June 25th to July 2nd. It will be the beginning of the second fifty years and should mark something of a special epoch as did last May's meeting summarize the first fifty years. The general program will include the following and other topics. Further information and membership in the Conference may be had by addressing William Hammond Parker, General Secretary, 25 E. Ninth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

GENERAL SESSIONS

The Presidential Address.
The Inter-Relation of Social Agencies.
The Rural Problem.
International Coöperation.
Negro Migration.
Immigration; Prohibition; Others.

DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

The Administration of Criminal Justice.
The Police and Their Functions.
Racial Causes of Crime.
Progress in the Prevention of Delinquency.
Institutional Programs.

THE FAMILY

Social Treatment Through the Interview.
The Development of Personality.
The Approach to Social Case Work.
Relationships Between Parents and Children.
Relatives and Small Group Relationships.

NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

The Rural Community.
Diagnosis of Community Problems.
Neighborhood and Community.
Community and Racial Problems.
Neighborhood Experiments.

ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Types of Organizations and Federations.
The Survey Method.
Interpretative Publicity.
The Federation Movement.
Financing Social Work.

Adult Immigration Education.
The Immigrant on the Land.

CHILDREN

Revaluation of Methods of Child Care.
Rural Social Work.
Social Problems and Illegitimacy.
The Prevention of Delinquency.
Child Welfare Agencies.
Others.

HEALTH

Educational Aspects of Venereal Disease.
Health Habits for School Children.
Maternity and Infancy.
Periodic Health Examinations.
Negro Health Work.

INDUSTRY

Worker's Education.
Labor Legislation.
The Prevention of Unemployment.
Ethical Forces.
Migration, Immigration.

MENTAL HYGIENE

Psychiatric Social Work.
Clinical Facilities Needed.
Neglect of Mental Hygiene.
Special Classes.
The Development of State Hospitals.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

Case Work in Public Welfare Departments.
Public and Private Social Work.
Recent Developments in Public Welfare.
Difficulties in the Administration of Public Welfare.

THE IMMIGRANT

Training for Citizenship.
Research and Legislation.

The Association of School of Professional Social Work now numbers twenty-two, the complete list of which will be found in "The Library and Workshop." Two meetings are held each year; the one with the American Sociological Society and the other with the National Conference of Social Work. At the recent meeting held at Washington with the American Sociological Society a number of excellent discussions were featured. One of these, by Jesse F. Steiner, who was elected President for next year, is presented to JOURNAL readers in this issue.

FIELD WORK TRAINING IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

JESSE F. STEINER

FIELD WORK training in community organization is a comparatively new subject and is still in the experimental stage. In fact, until quite recently, whatever variation there may have existed in the class room courses of the different schools, there was general agreement that the field work of the students should be concentrated upon the acquirement of case work technique. At one of the early meetings of the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work, when community organization came up for discussion, the opinion prevailed that if this new subject required field work, no place could be found for it without lengthening the school curriculum. Since then, community organization has become a definite part of our training courses and various efforts are being made to provide suitable field work training. Our experiments in this direction have, in my opinion, not yet resulted very satisfactorily. We are finding out that some of the fundamental aspects of community organization are too complex and far-reaching in their results to be adapted to the experimentation of students even though working under close supervision. This is of course by no means a new problem; it has simply been brought into the forefront of discussion by the recent emphasis on the organizing function of the social worker. During the earlier regime the professional schools directed their chief attention to turning out case work technicians. From the ranks of these technicians, it was expected, would later come the executives and social work leaders, but their rise to the top of their profession depended more upon their innate ability and practical experience than upon any definite attention to the problems of organization during their period of training in the school.

In any discussion of this problem of field work in community organization, it may as well be recognized that as far as our present knowledge and experience go, case work is not merely fundamental for the social worker but that it seems admirably adapted to what may be called the clinical training of the students. Problems of organization and administration, on the other hand, are of such a nature that experience in handling them can best come through a more or less prolonged period of apprenticeship training following the completion of the formal course of study in the school. This applies especially to the kind of field work training in community organization that is available with highly specialized agencies in our large cities. The only exceptions to it may possibly be found in certain kinds of group work and in the promotion and development of social agencies in small communities where social work has as yet made but little progress.

Our experience with field work in community organization at the University of North Carolina has been largely concerned with this promotional work in small communities. At first, our tendency was to regard community organization of this kind and case work with individuals and families as two entirely separate techniques that should be assigned to different periods of the training course. Later we came to feel that these two types of work are intimately and inseparably involved in the solution of the social problems of the small community. We have come to this conclusion mainly for two reasons.

In the first place, the problems of the individual and the family cannot be solved without reference to the community situation. Students assigned to such problems in the small town or

rural community may find it necessary in connection with their case work to organize a boy scout troop, a parent-teacher association, or build up better standards of relief in such an agency as the King's Daughters. For one student to look after the case work problem and another to concentrate upon the development of the community resources is an artificial arrangement that does not work out very satisfactorily in practice. Besides, there is a great advantage to the student in seeing through a problem as he will need to do later when employed for example as a county superintendent of public welfare. In our field work training of this kind every effort is made to get the student to see that group work and community organization must grow out of a recognition on the part of the people that individual and family problems can be solved best through building up the agencies and institutions of the community. As far as possible the arbitrary boundaries that separate different types of social work are set aside in order that students may see their problems as a whole and acquire the ability to work for a well balanced community program.

A second reason for this method of conducting this phase of our field work is even more fundamental for it grows out of the nature of this type of community work itself. When we speak of organizing a community, we do not mean that we are manipulating the community itself as a single social unit. What we are really doing is to stimulate and direct individuals and groups in such a way that the interests of the entire community may be furthered. The organization and development of community resources depend largely upon success in dealing with individuals and may in a sense be spoken of as case work with group leaders and persons of influence. Both community work and case work therefore not merely dovetail together in the solution of social problems, but have much in common in their methods of operation. For convenience in instruction they may well be separated but in the handling of field work in at least the small communities, both types of work can proceed together to great advantage.

All this of course is experimental work in a new field and much more experience is needed before a decision as to the best methods can be reached. Our present opinion is that field work in community organization that can be carried on concurrently with class room instruction can be

found much more satisfactorily in promotive work in a simple social situation in a small community than in the more complex activities of the large city organization as for example a council of social agencies or a welfare federation. Community organization as it is carried on by a large welfare federation may be regarded as consisting of four main functions: administration, organization, promotion, and correlation. Students having at their disposal but limited time and little experience, when assigned to such an agency, can hardly do more than observe what is going on in the fields of organization and correlation. Unless the agency is willing to give much time to their training, their work-experience is likely to be limited to certain administrative details and possibly to a share in the work of promotion as for instance in the preparation of some forms of publicity. For effective field work with an agency of this kind specializing in community organization, students must, in my opinion, be prepared to serve an apprenticeship following their course of study.

If the question is asked as to the use that can be made of public agencies in securing field work training in community organization, our reply is that under our system of public welfare in North Carolina we have found it feasible to give students under supervision experience in the promotion and development of community work activities in small towns and rural communities inadequately equipped with social work leadership. Our present arrangement in the school of public welfare provides for this field work under the direction of a member of our staff who serves also as assistant superintendent of public welfare in the two counties most accessible to the University.

But if work-experience is sought in the more specialized phases of community organization, it must be gained with the appropriate private agencies that have assumed leadership in this field. Public agencies with few exceptions, as for example the one just mentioned and certain efforts in the recreational field, have not engaged extensively in community work. For field work of this kind, therefore we must look almost entirely to private agencies, keeping in mind that community organization activities are of such a nature that they cannot readily be turned over to students who have only a part of their time available for this work.

THE STATE CONFERENCES FOR SOCIAL WORK

In the May JOURNAL Howard Knight of the Ohio State Conference, will present an interesting paper on "What Shall We Discuss?" The question relates to state conferences and he has presented some interesting results. In the meantime the Spring conferences in the several states continue to prove resourceful in their programs and influential in their efforts.

ALABAMA

Alabama has selected for the special emphasis during the 1924 Conference "The County as a Unit of Social Work" and the officials and program committees have set themselves to the important task of perfecting an effective meeting and a much enlarged membership. The annual conference will be held this year at Tuscaloosa and the University of Alabama beginning Sunday night, March 9th, with the opening address by Shailer Mathews, and ending Tuesday noon with a final luncheon in which short talks by the home folks and visitors, including Joseph C. Logan, Joseph K. Hart, Howard W. Odum, will be featured. An unusual luncheon discussion will be that of "Supplying Needed Trained Social Workers" in which the heads of the state institutions of higher learning have been invited to participate. The entire list of topics will prove especially timely, both for Alabama, and for all the other states.

Among the important topics to be discussed are: The Church as a Factor in Social Reconstruction, A Decade of Social Work in Alabama, The County as the Unit in an Organized Program of Social Work, The Relation of Layman and Expert in Social Work, When Will the Layman Accept the Expert, County-Wide Programs in Recreation, A Supply of Trained Social Workers for Alabama, Health Work Pays, The Proper Financing of a Program of Social Work.

Among the Alabama speakers who will participate are Governor W. W. Brandon, Judge Woolsey Finnell, Dean Lee Bidgood, Mrs. L. B. Bush, James L. Sibley, E. A. Sapp, Hayse Tucker, together with luncheon representatives from the denominational and state educational institutions. Among the outside speakers who will be present are: Dr. Shailer Mathews, Dean of the School of Divinity, University of Chicago; Joseph K. Hart, Associate Editor of *The Survey*; Howard W. Odum, Director of the School of Public Welfare, University of North Carolina; Joseph C. Logan, Manager Southern Division of American Red Cross; Dr. W. A. Evans, Editor Health Department *Chicago Tribune*; Mr. C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati, Ohio; and invited are: Miss Grace Abbott of Washington, and President E. C. Brooks of the North Carolina State College.

FLORIDA

The Florida State Conference has selected West Palm Beach for its 1924 meeting and the dates April 13th to 16th. The officers include Professor L. M. Bristol of the University of Florida as president; Mr. D. L. Williams of West Palm Beach as treasurer; Dr. Ralph E. Barnes of Jacksonville as secretary; Miss Elizabeth A.

Cooley of Miami as chairman of the Membership Committee; and twenty-three district vice-presidents. Miss Cooley is making an effective campaign for a much enlarged membership and the program committee is about to announce the details of the best of Florida meetings—and that is a high standard to set.

The outstanding feature will be the demonstration of indoor and outdoor recreation under the direction of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. Each morning session will be broken by a half hour of recreation and two hours each afternoon will be devoted to a "beach frolic."

We begin Sunday afternoon, April 13th, with an open-air mass meeting addressed by prominent speakers. Monday morning will be devoted to a consideration of Juvenile Delinquency with Judge James H. Ricks of Richmond, as the main speaker. Charles P. Chute, secretary National Probation Association, will be among those who will lead the discussion.

Monday evening will be given to a discussion of Prison Reform with Ex-Governor A. W. Gilchrist presiding. Addresses by Col. C. E. Faulkner, ex-president of the National Conference of Social Work, and Hon. J. S. Blitch, superintendent of the State Farm.

Tuesday morning will be given to a consideration of "Florida's Problem with the Mentally Defective" with a speaker from the National Committee on Mental Hygiene, and "The Health of the Child," with discussion led by Miss Jean Reid of the State Board of Health, and Miss Jane Van de Vrede, Director Health Service, Southern Division American Red Cross.

The luncheon hour will be given to a consideration of the Social Welfare Aspects of Home Demonstration Work and kindred subjects. The Tuesday evening session will be addressed by Mr. John Bradford, special representative of the Playground Association of America, and others.

Wednesday morning will be given to a consideration of "The Transient Problem" under the leadership of Miss Virginia Kelly, Assistant Director National Travelers' Aid, New York, and a Case Work Conference, led by Miss Josephine Brown, Associate Field Director American Association for Organizing Charity.

The luncheon hour will be devoted to Community Planning and Community and County Organization. Mrs. Robert Seymour of Miami, will present a paper on Town Planning and the round table on Organization will be addressed by Judge O. P. Goode, St. Augustine and the City Managers of Fort Myers, St. Augustine, West Palm Beach, and Mayor Frank Ladd of Key West.

The Conference will close with a banquet Wednesday evening, Mr. Owen Lovejoy acting as toastmaster.

GEORGIA

While Georgia's Council of Social Agencies has been achieving some unusual results and blazing its own trail—a trail worth following—the state so far has not had a formal state conference of social work. It is therefore with great interest and anticipation that the first conference will be held in Atlanta, March 18th to 20th. One feature not usually found in state conferences will be the emphasis placed upon rural education. The general plan as set forth by Burr Blackburn is stated in the following notes.

The first Georgia Conference of Social Work, to be held in Atlanta March 18-20, 1924, under the auspices of the State Council of Social Agencies, will bring together the local and state leaders of thirty-five important educational, health and welfare organizations, and will inaugurate an annual gathering of all those whose prime interest is in human welfare. Thus Georgia takes her place with the forty odd other states which hold annual state conferences of social work.

The program, which will center largely around family and rural life, is being prepared by a committee headed by Robert H. Jones, Jr., a prominent lawyer of Atlanta. Already many of the speakers have agreed to serve. Child Welfare problems will be discussed by Miss Emma Lundberg of the Federal Children's Bureau, and Dr. A. T. Jamison, head of the Connie Maxwell Orphanage, of Greenwood, S. C., one of the most modern institutions in the country.

In Family work the speakers include Miss Josephine Brown, of the American Association for Organizing Family Work, and Miss Virginia L. Kelly of the National Travelers' Aid Society.

On public health Dr. J. L. Rankin, Health Commissioner of North Carolina, (or some equally prominent health leader) will speak. Dr. B. B. Robinson of the National Mental Hygiene Association will discuss the newer developments in his field. A national figure in Recreation will be secured and, Miss Anne W. Clarke of the National Y. W. C. A. Board will present the needs of adolescent girls.

Negro work, adult delinquency, and publicity methods will be considered. An interesting feature is the publicity clinic being arranged by Mrs. T. C. Hudson, of Columbus. Louis Hicks, of the Southern Ruralist will give constructive criticism of samples of publicity issued by the agencies.

However, the heart of the conference will center in the question of rural education which will be considered at the Conference Dinner. Dr. A. E. Winship, editor of the *Journal of Education*, and J. L. Tigert, head of the National Bureau of Education, will be the principal out of state speakers. Dr. Winship is considered one of the foremost educators of his day. At this time Dr. N. H. Ballard, state commissioner of education, will present results of the state-wide survey of schools, and the recommendations which the department will advance as a result of the study.

Many leading Georgians will participate in the conference. All of the agencies in the council are planning to

invite their local leaders, and perhaps, for the first time, the united voice of Georgians in behalf of human progress will become articulate.

A number of state organizations are planning to hold meetings during the conference; among them the Association of Children's Institutions, the State Mental Hygiene Association, the State Association of Family Welfare Agencies, County Public Health Officers, Probation Officers and Juvenile Court Judges, American Red Cross and others.

MINNESOTA

Mrs. Robbins Gilman, secretary-treasurer, submits the following report of this year's Minnesota conference:

There was not such a marked difference in the Minnesota State Conference this year over previous years, but perhaps a few changes may be noted with interest. There were two splendid exhibitions by St. Louis county, the county in which Duluth, the conference city, is situated. Previous to this time, the conference itself had arranged exhibits from various organizations of the state and taken them to the conference city.

The president, Miss Caroline Crosby, introduced a new policy in her presidential address, which created much discussion and earnest thought: first, as to the use of the presidential address for presenting suggestions upon controversial policies for the conference at large; and, second, as to the specific issues proposed by the address.

The change introduced was greeted enthusiastically as a beginning for future development in the State Conference meetings. The points in her address were referred to the executive committee for recommendation, to be presented in the 1924 conference.

The section on delinquents of the Minnesota State Conference of Social Work, initiated a new feature in its program which secured for the section a constant interest, which was sustained through the closing hours.

The program policy adopted by the Committee on Delinquents, early in the year, was to undertake the presentation of fundamental causes of the universal problems of delinquency as it relates to religion and education, economics and industry, physical and mental hygiene, politics and government. A community program for social hygiene was presented in the general section and formed a basis for later sectional discussion.

Three periods of two hours each were assigned to the Committee on Delinquents. The first two hour period was given to four special speakers, who presented the general principles of the subject assigned them through written addresses. The second two hour period was given to four speakers who took up in detail two of the previously presented subjects, also through written addresses. This material was discussed at the close of the section from the floor. The third two hour period was given to four other speakers who discussed in detail the remaining two subjects presented at the first section. The object of this was to secure a full and a prepared discussion of the environmental and inherent factors of delinquency. The result was cumulative information and interest. It left the impression that

delinquency was far reaching and required something more than mere regulation through legislation or the Kant philosophy.

The attitude of both speakers and conference members was one of seriousness. It produced a desire to further pursue the subject from a technical point of view. It brought out the fact that the professional group is interested in scientific causes and recognize the fallacy of attacking the results instead of studying the source of delinquency with its manifold variations. Delinquency was treated as an abstract subject. The aim was not to introduce juvenile delinquency but to treat the entire subject from a broad social point of view.

The Minnesota State Conference of Social Work has become closely related to the civic and political welfare agencies of the state. This association dates back to the passage of the 1917 legislation, proposed by the Children's Code Commission. The Child Welfare Bureau of the State Board of Control, with its county welfare committees forms an intimate and vital alliance between the private and public social agencies of the state.

The county commissioners met in Duluth at the same time and place by arrangement and held a joint session with the State Conference of Social Work. The members attended many of the sectional meetings to the benefit of both groups.

The judges of probate court met by agreement at the same time and place and formed an integral part of the conference itself. Their problems as juvenile judges in counties where there is no other judge assigned regularly to the consideration of juvenile work, are in common with practically all of the other social agencies.

At the last business meeting of the whole conference, the following resolutions were referred to the executive committee. First, that the conference favored institutional memberships and empowered the executive committee to designate the sum to be paid by the institutions. Second, that the conference reprint papers upon the recommendation of the sectional chairman, chosen on the basis of special merit by the executive committee, to be available for those asking for them. Third, that the conference go on record as being in favor of the proposal of the use of a psychiatrist and psychiatric social worker in the treatment of the behavior child in state institutions for the care of children and young people.

Three recommendations were proposed by the Committee on Interpretation and Full Time Secretary:

a. Resolved that the executive committee be empowered to undertake during the coming year an educational program, having for its objective the enlightenment of the general public as to the purposes, ideals, and methods of social work. If practicable, the committee shall prepare a syllabus or statement descriptive of the various types of social work represented in the conference and such other information pertinent thereto as will be of interest particularly to persons not engaged in social work.

b. Resolved, that the executive committee be empowered to hold, if found desirable, the next State Confer-

ence of Social Work at the University of Minnesota in conjunction with a public institute on social service to be worked out in coöperation with the training school for social workers at the University of Minnesota.

c. Resolved, that the executive committee be empowered to consider during the coming year the advisability and possibility of employing a full time secretary, and to employ such a secretary if ways and means to finance such a program can be found.

MICHIGAN

Miss Grace Cone, General Secretary of the Social Service Bureau, writes about the Michigan State Conference.

The Michigan State Conference this year was held October 2nd, 3rd and 4th at Kalamazoo, Michigan. The outstanding feature of the conference, and the session causing the most discussion from various factions in the state, was that having to do with child labor in the sugar beet fields of Michigan. The program was in the nature of a debate. Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, whose report of Michigan conditions had started much agitation, opened the meeting with a resume of his committee's findings. He was followed by State Representative, Charles H. Culver, of Detroit, and Garrett J. Diekema, of Holland, Michigan. These two men represented the sugar beet growers, and the opposing side, and condemned the National Child Labor Committee and its report. Mr. Carl Young, State Commissioner of Labor, Lansing, was the final speaker on the program, giving a very strong speech in defense of the National Child Labor Committee and its report.

Special interest was aroused in the subject of the employment of children in the sugar beet fields in Michigan, following an exaggerated statement published in some of the newspapers regarding the extent of damage done to child workers by the loss of fingers, in their work in the fields. As a result there was appointed at the last meeting of the legislature, a special committee to investigate the condition of children working in the sugar beet fields. This committee spent two days in its investigation, during a period when the work was not actually being carried on, and their report to the legislature was one of severe criticism of the National Child Labor Committee's report.

The State Legislative Committee called the members of the National Child Labor Committee making the investigation, before them for a hearing, but the Legislative Committee, especially the chairman, appeared to be prejudiced from the beginning, and during the hearing, as well as later through their newspaper publicity, tried to begot the vital issues in the National Child Labor Committee's report.

Many people from about the state and other states came to the State Conference to hear the subject discussed. Both Mr. Culver and Mr. Diekema tried to camouflage the important items of the National Committee's report, by laying great stress upon the point of children cutting off their fingers. Mr. Lovejoy explained that this was a very minor point in the committee's report, and upon

request gave Mr. Culver the names of three children whom the investigators had actually found whose fingers had been cut off while topping beets. Mr. Lovejoy gave accurate statistics which plainly showed that children working in the Michigan beet fields had been deprived of the proper amount of education and as the result they were retarded in school. Mr. Lovejoy spoke of inadequate housing, and wages were touched upon. Mr. Carl Young emphasized the fact that the opponents of Mr. Lovejoy failed to take into consideration the report of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, which was a more scathing rebuke to Michigan than was the Child Labor Committee's report. He said that the State Legislative Investigating Committee that checked up on the National Child Labor Committee's report, spent but two days in the beet district. Two of its five members were beet sugar barons. He urged a thorough unbiased investigation of conditions by a committee whose integrity could not be questioned.

During one of the business sessions of the conference it was decided to have a committee appointed to study during the next year the question of a State Council of Social Agencies.

NORTH CAROLINA

The most important step taken by the North Carolina Conference for Social Service has been the employment of a full time secretary and the election of Miss Minnie E. Harmon to this position. Miss Harmon has been secretary of the Red Cross at Durham, had studied social work at Bryn Mawr and had received her master's degree at the University of North Carolina. She has had, besides, other valuable experience. One of the first things she has done was to organize a district conference which met at Asheville on February 27th and 28th with a large attendance and with great enthusiasm. Among the outside speakers were Mrs. Martha Falconer and Judge Joseph Hoffman. Other district conferences will be held.

The twelfth annual meeting will be held in Charlotte on March 25th, 26th and 27th, beginning with group conferences and ending with the final luncheon Thursday noon featured by an address by Governor Morrison and a message from President Coolidge. Besides the usual group meeting with the conference, including the superintendents of Public Welfare, the American Red Cross, the Travellers' Aid, the Visiting Teachers, the Interracial Committee, the Y. W. C. A., and others, there will

be also a meeting of the teachers of sociology in southern institutions, including representatives from Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana. Another group will be that of a travelling conference group on industrial relations under the joint direction of the University's School of Public Welfare and the Federal Council of Churches. The story of these meetings, however, will form a separate report.

Among the topics to be discussed at the Charlotte meeting will be, in addition to local problems of several groups meeting with the conference, the following: The Relation of Education to Industrial Welfare, The Social Responsibility of Organized Labor, Progress in Prison and Correctional Work, The Report of the Committee of 100 on Prison Legislation, A Prison Farm for Women, Newer Developments in Juvenile Court Work, Report of Survey of Juvenile Courts of North Carolina, The Mental Defectives in the Court, The County as a Unit of Social Work, Government in Relation to Public Welfare, The State in Relation to Public Service, County Taxation for Greater Service, The Church and Social Service, and others.

Among North Carolina speakers to participate will be Governor Cameron Morrison, Mrs. Kate Burr Johnson, President H. W. Chase, President E. C. Brooks, Dr. Joseph Hyde Pratt, Mr. A. M. Scales, Dr. W. L. Poteat, Mrs. C. C. Hook, Dr. A. M. McGeachey, Hon. A. T. Allen, Mrs. Charles Quinlan, Mrs. Mary O. Cowper, Dr. Harry W. Crane, Mr. Carl Taylor, Mr. Glen Johnson, Miss Marie Miller, Mr. L. D. Leonard, Miss Alice M. Pierre, Dr. C. F. Rogers, Dr. Lewis Taylor, Dr. Charles Maddry, Col. T. L. Kilpatrick, Dr. Howard W. Odum, and others.

Among outsiders speakers will be John J. Tigert, Commissioner of Education; Worth M. Tippy, Secretary Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of Churches; Alva W. Taylor, Secretary of the Board of Temperance and Social Welfare of Indianapolis; Pierce Williams, of the National Information Bureau; W. D. Weatherford, of Vanderbilt University; J. W. Perry, Secretary of the Home Mission Board M. E. Church, South; Will W. Alexander, Secretary of the Interracial Committee, Atlanta; Graham Romeyn Taylor, and others.

The annual meeting, although important, will, however, be only a part of the North Carolina program which will run through the year.

Church and Religion

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

RELIGION AS A SOCIAL FORCE

JAMES J. MURRAY

THERE IS a growing sympathetic understanding between religious thinkers and social workers and a deepening feeling that their goals are one. The difference in their efforts is not a difference in aim but a difference of approach and emphasis. One starts from the standpoint of the ultimate and his emphasis is that of spiritual principles; the other starts from the standpoint of the immediate and his emphasis is that of social organization. It is proper that in so large a task there should be the difference of emphasis, but it is imperative that there should be a recognition of the unity of purpose and a sympathetic coöperation. Each attitude alone is incomplete. The theologian speaks of souls, but there are no bare souls in the world we know, and no man can reach a satisfying spiritual life whose social relations are unhappy. The social worker speaks of health and education and industry, but life is bigger than all of these, and a man may be fed and warmed and yet stand terrified before the failure of the spiritual impulses which grip him. Human life is a unit and the aims of those who would minister to it are one. What Plato said to philosophers and statesmen is to the point here: until religious thinkers become socially minded and social workers are full of religious idealism there will be no real advance in human welfare.

The social worker needs the support of a personal faith and religious idealism. That is the strongest motive to social effort and the deepest source of courage in the face of the almost insuperable difficulties which a maladjusted world presents. A second-hand idealism, absorbed unconsciously from the atmosphere which Christianity has generated, may be a sufficient motive to an interest in social problems, but the man who attempts to translate his thinking into effort for

the social good will need a faith and hope in a supremely good God who will put power into his hands—not automatically or inevitably, it is true, but certainly if he uses with unselfishness the abilities of mind and heart. And the religious worker needs the broadened vision which the social movement brings to give reality to his aims and to make him see that purely individual religion is incomplete and impossible—that it is narrow and barren until it is pouring itself out in humanity's service.

Religious people have often been suspicious of the magnifying of social aims. They have feared that the warmth of personal religion will be chilled and secondary things put first. This fear is not without reason. They see a tendency sometimes among social theorists to glorify material and mechanical progress—to feel that with sufficient social organization all human ills will pass away. And they cannot forget that, as an old African chief once said to Dan Crawford when he discoursed in pride on the glories of European civilization: "To be better off is not to be better." Even Utopia may still have its torments until human nature is regenerated. A man who has had spiritual vision will never be convinced that the deepest root of social maladjustment is not personal selfishness and sin. At the same time he may forget that another root of society's ills is ignorance and blindness. For this suspicion is in part due to a limited viewpoint and a failure to see that as fundamental as personal religion may be it will not settle the world's needs without intelligent and coöperative effort.

There are two fallacies that have long had a hold on the minds of religious people when they approach the social problem. They sound very proper if quickly said, but will not meet the test of critical examination. They are usually stated thus:

1. *You cannot legislate morals.* Righteousness and happiness must come from within. That is true as a general statement, but it must be qualified and not over-worked. It is also just as true that certain evils can be legislated away. An aroused conscience in a small minority of the world's people has legislated away the slave trade and almost relieved Africa of its curse. And a similar minority has put a stop to some of the worst forms of industrial oppression. You cannot make a bad man good by legislation, but you can limit his evil actions very perceptibly. Very few of those who accept this familiar statement would be ready to abolish the penitentiary for murderers and thieves. And it is also true that as a child is surrounded by right laws and customs he will have a better chance to follow the good that God may put before his conscience. It is the repressive influence of social customs that changes the little barbarians who are born into our Christian homes into unselfish men and women. Material conditions do not create character but they do have their influence in the development of spiritual character. As no less orthodox a churchman than Thomas Chalmers said: "Between a high tone of character and a high rate of wages there is a most intimate alliance." And any cotton mill welfare worker in North Carolina will tell you that the weaving mill village not only attracts but develops a higher type of family than the spinning mill village.

2. *Make individuals right and society will be right.* This also sounds plausible but unfortunately it does not necessarily follow. For society is more than a collection of individuals. It has an entity of its own and creates problems of its own, increasing in difficulty as society grows in complexity. From these problems it will take all our ingenuity to escape. This escape will require more than goodness. It will require applied goodness mixed with intelligence and coöperative effort. As Rauschenbusch pointed out years ago, the most benevolent and unselfish stock-holder is helpless to escape corporate sin under the present rules of the business game. "A corporation might be composed of retired missionaries, peace advocates, and dear old ladies, but their philanthropy would cause no vibrations in the business end of the concern." And even if our text were largely true, can we take it to mean that we have to wait until the last individual has been Christianized

before we can have any hope for society as a whole? Does not the salvation of society make progress at the same time with the salvation of individuals? Even a small number of good people with intelligent consecration can set to work forces that will bring hopeful changes. It must be noted, indeed, in passing, that there is one type of religious people to whom the standpoint of this article will have no point, to those who feel that there is no hope of ever making a good world at all—that the only purpose of religion is to rescue a few brands from the burning and let the house go up in flames. To those who so misread the words of Jesus there is no argument and no appeal.

It is time that those of us who put the religious concern first in life shall wake up from our complacency and see that, on the other hand, we cannot make individuals right if society is not made right. It may be that a man can live a good life under any conditions but it will not be the fulness of life that the Savior hoped for in men. Can a man live a full life in a city slum? Or in the more backward of our southern mill villages? He may live a moral life but can he attain to any spiritual maturity? Individual piety cannot live *in vacuo*. And can a Christian business man have a clear conscience under modern business rules? Can he be content if he realizes that he is a responsible part of a system that is shot through with injustice and of which the best that can be said is that it is a civilized warfare? A kindly spirit will soften any struggle, but even the Hague conventions do not keep war from being war. Of both the man who is handicapped and the man who is unfairly helped by social injustice it is true that there can be no fineness of life until there is a truer adjustment of life's goods. To one there comes the bitterness in his helplessness, to the other the hardening in his power.

Religion has both an individualistic and a social aspect. The church has always stressed the first and often neglected the second. To be sure the religious spirit has always overflowed the individualistic program but it must do it more deliberately. We must see the social implications of religion and work at them more directly. There is at the last no distinction between the two aspects of religion. They are but the inner and the outer sides of the same thing. Jesus related them perfectly and so must we try. Dr.

Charles Macfarland said to the Southern Sociological Congress in Memphis: "So people sometimes ask us, 'What is the task of the church? Is it spiritual culture or social service?' Watch Jesus. Where do you find Him? Sometimes you catch a glimpse of Him on the mountain side at midnight in prayer, but the next moment you see Him down in the dusty highway of our human life." And if the church is to follow her Master all along the way she must be with Him not only when He prays at midnight and speaks His Beatitudes on the Mount but also in His healing ministry to the body and mind of suffering humanity. The Archbishop of Canterbury once said that the work of the church took his time to the limit seventeen hours a day and that he was too busy to form an opinion on the labor question. To this Kier Hardie, the veteran Christian labor leader of England, made the stinging and unanswerable reply: "A religion that demands seventeen hours a day for organization and leaves no time for a single thought about starving and despairing men and women and children has no message for this age." It would be altogether unfair to say that the church has been neglectful of individual distress. Sometimes, it is true, a Lord Shaftesbury has had to work against the church's indifference to human need and even against her opposition when that indifference was allied to self-interest; while, on the other hand, Wilberforce could say during his fight to free the slaves in the British Empire: "The clergy to a man are favorable to the cause." But the fair charge is that the church has too often limited its efforts to palliative help. Social effort itself has a double aim—ameliorative and constructive. The church has rarely been slow in its charitable and ameliorative service. In fact she has produced this in every age. Almost every humanitarian movement can be traced, directly or indirectly, to the spirit of Christ spreading from the church. And in the world as it is, so full of immediate and pressing need, this effort is not to be scorned; it is only insufficient. No wounded man will depreciate the value of the Red Cross while the war is on. But after the armistice is signed there is opportunity for a more lasting service by the statesman who will do something to prevent another war. And it is hardly necessary to point out that amelioration may in the end do more harm than good unless in our

humanitarian efforts we are making each individual piece of service a case work on which to base intelligent generalization, unless we are looking for causes and seeking constructive cures. As the neo-biologists are showing us so clearly today, interference with the course of human development by kindly people is a dangerous thing unless it is directed intelligently and done whole-heartedly. It is always easier to try to cure than it is to seek to prevent. Cure requires only pity; prevention demands vision. An ameliorative interest in humanity needs only goodness and kindness; constructive effort calls for intelligence and skill. We are beginning to see that goodness and kindness alone are insufficient for a world so complex as we live in today. This constructive course takes enormous effort of thought and action of which many of us are, or at least are willing to think ourselves, incapable and of which all of us realize the difficulties.

Social workers have not always appreciated the value of religion in its conservative influence in social advance. But Prof. Charles A. Ellwood in his "The Reconstruction of Religion" brings out very forcibly the fact that religion has had a tremendous value in holding the ground gained in any period of social progress—in consolidating the positions that humanity has reached by throwing about these positions the support of its mores and emotional appeal. Religion takes the best that society has achieved and gives it its sanction. But then too often it has clung to that position as if it were final and contested any further advance. The church has too often been satisfied to fight a trench warfare and has resisted the efforts of her leaders who have dared to take the battle into the no-man's land and fight an open warfare against humanity's enemies.

But religion is and should be a powerful force to keep its adherents dissatisfied with any position the world has reached. There is dynamite in the spirit of the founder of our Christian religion. That dynamite of humanitarian idealism is gradually exploding the world's selfishness and indifference. It will not stop until the day shall come that the Master visioned when he first spoke in the synagogue one Sabbath morning in Nazareth and we see "the acceptable year of the Lord." But until that day comes the followers of the Son of God must ever remember that he still would lash our Bethsaidas and Chorazins into larger

views of human need and wider hopes of human progress.

How is the Church of God to be of most service in the social movement? Even the most zealous of us would hardly wish her efforts to be too direct or to see her set up a detailed scheme of social readjustment. The church is not a Social Welfare Congress. Few of her leaders have had technical sociological training. And here as nowhere else an enthusiastic but ignorant blunderer can do more damage than good. There is always danger when the church attacks a concrete evil or tries to write all the articles of a social treaty. There are times when the church should do just that thing. There are evils so obvious—child labor or brutality in our prison camps or the disgraceful housing conditions among negroes in many southern cities or illiteracy or increasing tenancy—that it takes no thinking to see that here there is an utter disregard of humanity's interests and of Christian principles. Such cases are many and they cry out for plain speaking and direct action on the part of the church. But there are many other cases just as harmful but not so obvious or simple where in direct action there is a real danger—not the insignificant risk of hurting herself but the greater risk of damaging the cause. The church will always do her best work through the social idealism she can generate in her members, through the great social principles she can ring out, through the individual leaders she can inspire, and through the hearty backing she can give to humanitarian movements. Her work is to inspire and to sympathize, to proclaim the principles of human welfare and to encourage the organizations that are detailing the programs. And she must do this not in passive sympathy but in active encouragement. If the church is not to desert a world in need, if she is to hold true to the spirit of her master, yea, if she is to save her own life, she must have a hearty social program.

It may not be amiss to outline such a program and state some of the principles on which the church must stand if she is to be in any real sense the organized exponent of Jesus' teachings:

1. She must recognize whole-heartedly that *she has a social as well as a personal message.*

2. She must *establish the belief in the worth of human personality.* She must preach to the nation the meaning and dignity of manhood and teach that every man, however handicapped or

brutalized, is a child of God. Her aim must be not success first but service first, and she must welcome men regardless of social and external position, recognizing men not for what they can bring to the church but for what they need from the church. And she must wipe out hatred and class prejudice.

3. She must try to *touch life at its source*—even before birth. And that will mean a sympathetic understanding of the growing eugenics movement. The time to have helped many defectives now living would have been before they were born—to have seen that they were born right or not born at all.

4. She must *care for the weak and handicapped.* She will give her cordial backing to the organizations that are working in health, education and public welfare, to reach those handicapped in childhood or by sickness or by fault of their own—the sick, the ignorant, the defectives, the criminals. She will thank God for the great social impetus now on in North Carolina and for the constructive program of our state.

5. She must work for *an industrial order based on justice and love.* She will endeavor to put in her followers a spirit that will make wrong and injustice, greed and selfishness, intolerable, and will teach them that the basic principle in a Christian business system is not an 8 per cent profit but the welfare of the men and women and children concerned.

6. She must endeavor to give to every man a *chance for a full life.* Recognizing that rural betterment and healthy city life are fundamentals in politics and religion, she will encourage the forces that are working against illiteracy and tenancy in the country and for the upbuilding of recreation and better civic conditions. She will aim for a salvation of body and mind as well as soul.

7. She must work for *international brotherhood.* The church will line up in the war against war.

8. She must teach men as the foundation for all these things *faith in God and brotherhood and personal righteousness.* She will ring out again and again in all their living applications the Master's fundamentals: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," and "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." For "on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

Inter-Racial Coöperation

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE NEGRO MIGRATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

GUY B. JOHNSON

I

THE NORTHWARD movement of the negro attracts attention, not because it is a migration, but because it is a *negro* migration. What is there about the shifting of a mere half-million negroes from the South to the North to cause the nation more anxiety than did the arrival annually of one million foreign-born in the pre-war days? Why should it be considered more serious than the great urban migration which has in the last forty years transformed us from a rural to an urban nation? Such a phenomenon indeed calls for intelligent explanation.

The various explanations which have been propounded are more partisan than scientific. At one extreme there is the belief that the migration is primarily a flight from persecution. The following is an example of a somewhat prejudiced judgment:

Racial factors, as much as economic motives, have been responsible for the tremendous migration of the negro to the North, for the treatment which he has been receiving from the southern white man has been making it literally every hour more undesirable and impossible for him to remain in the South. In sections of the South where the negro has gained control of corporations, banks, insurance and real estate companies, which represent the group investment of negroes to the amount of millions of dollars, lynchings and race riots and the reign of mob terror are so much in the air that it needs only slight persuasion for the negro to pack up, sell out, and move North.¹

At the other extreme is the attitude taken by so many southern writers who see nothing but ingratitude in the negro's repudiation of the Southland; for, think they, the South is the

natural home of the negro, and no one in all the world understands him like the southern white man. Still others believe that the migration is artificial and cannot proceed much further.

Between these extremes the truth is somewhere to be found. The most cursory examination of the available facts should have precluded hasty judgments, for although such data as we have are somewhat meager, they indicate certain trends and clues.

Is the negro migration motivated primarily by economic forces or by social forces? This question has monopolized much of the discussion on the problem. And indeed it deserves a great part of our attention, for the final significance of the negro migration in American history shall depend upon whether it is a temporary response to unusual economic conditions, or a permanent phenomenon representing fundamental changes in our agricultural and industrial organization.

II

ANALYSIS OF THE MIGRATION

Obviously no single factor can explain the migration. One always comes nearer the truth by assuming a multiplicity of factors in explaining the causation of a social movement.

(1) *A process of urbanization*—First of all, the negro migration must be regarded as a part of the great process of urbanization. Ever since the Civil War there has been a steadily increasing drift of negroes to the cities of both the North and the South. Emancipation alone was a force making for greater mobility of the once subject race, and the subsequent direction of southern agriculture made it inevitable that the negro should have to seek his fortune more and more in the urban world.

Some northward migration there has always been, but it did not become remarkable until

AUTHOR'S NOTE—While some statistical facts on the migration are available, there is little of value known, so that much conjecture is still necessary. This paper presents nothing new in the analysis of the migration, but it is hoped that the thoughts on its consequences shall call attention to the seriousness of the problems which the nation may be called upon to solve in the future.

¹ Eric Walrond in *New Republic*, July 18, 1923.

after the World War began. Does the fact that the main current of negro migration turned to northern cities make it any less an urbanization process? Many writers become confused at this point, preferring to interpret the migration across the Mason-Dixon line as a flight from persecution. But there is no more than a negligible difference between the attitudes and motives of the negro who moves from southern farm to southern city and the negro who moves from southern farm to northern city.

Now the result of this changed direction of the negro urban trend is a different matter. Life in the North for the negro is going to have far-reaching effects upon him—effects which he perhaps does not now remotely perceive. If this were not true, the migration would have very little national significance. These effects we may reserve for later consideration.

(2) *An economic phenomenon*—Urbanization is itself a phase of the great industrial revolution. Therefore we must suppose economic motives to a greater or lesser degree to be behind the negro migration. To begin with, the curve for the northward migration shows two high points: one during the industrial high-tide of the war, and the other in 1923 after the recovery from business depression. The latter suggests another factor: restriction of immigration. Statistics show that while the Three Per Cent Law admits some 300,000 or more Europeans annually, the net gain in unskilled laborers³ is slightly over 60,000. Certainly the negro is filling a part of the vacancy occasioned by the shortage of foreign labor.

Industrial expansion during the war and the restriction of immigration, then, may be called the economic "pull" of the North. On the other side there has been a corresponding "push" from the South.² Short cotton crops have contributed their share to the negro's dissatisfaction with the southern farm. Furthermore, a tendency toward the concentration of land ownership in many of the Southern states is halting the negro in his acquisition of agricultural lands.

It must be clearly stated at this point that we are not attempting to dispose of the question by showing its economic implications. We are simply calling attention to the apparent economic phases

of the migration without insisting dogmatically that they are all-important.

(3) *An expression of social unrest*—That the northward migration also represents a growing restlessness of the American negro cannot be denied. The relative importance of this element of unrest cannot yet be determined because of the complexity of factors, but there is evidence to show that it is operating. Too often this spirit of unrest has been regarded as a fiercely rebellious attitude which the southern negro has developed in the past few years, from which it is reasoned that the migration is a reaction from unfair conditions and persecutions.³ But those who are thoroughly acquainted with negroes in the South are well aware that the illiterate, indifferent, dependent negro is still typical. Race consciousness and racial aspirations mean practically nothing to him, and the spirit of unrest is very little more than the mere realization that he could move if conditions became unbearable.

There is a small minority of southern negroes, however, who, having advantages above the average of their race in education, culture, and living conditions, are keenly aware of their problems, are race conscious, and resent sharply their position as an inferior caste. Doubtless this class is adding more and more to the stream of migrants; but for the great mass of negroes in the south unrest is yet a somewhat unsubstantial feeling—not a primary motive for migration, but occasionally strong enough to turn the scales in favor of a northward move.

Social unrest will doubtless in time become characteristic of negro life. It is inevitable that as the process of education widens and the circle of race consciousness expands, the negro shall be less and less inclined to accept his present status. The real test of the strength of this factor in the present migration will come later when the economic motives mentioned above have receded in importance.

To repeat, the final significance of the negro migration depends upon whether it is a temporary adjustment to abnormal industrial conditions or a permanent reaction representing fundamental

²The "pull" is, psychologically speaking, what makes the "push" felt, for dissatisfaction with one environment often depends upon the knowledge that a better situation is a possibility.

³The following statistics are significant here: Between 1888 and 1918, Montgomery County, Georgia, had five lynchings. The negro population decreased from 7,310 to 4,348; the white population from 12,328 to 4,763. If lynching caused migration from this county, it affected the whites more than the blacks. In Harrison County, Texas, in spite of 16 lynchings between 1900 and 1920, the negro population increased from 13,544 to 15,639.

changes in the economic and social fabric of the nation. If southern agriculture sees the passing of King Cotton and the wholesale adoption of scientific methods, the day of the negro on the southern farm is over, and well might he seek home and fortune in the more promising North and West. After all, only a half-million negroes have deserted the South during the present migration—not enough to justify much anxiety yet—and the movement must go on until it has deprived the South of several millions of its colored population before its national consequences can be remarkable. That southern agriculture is changing, however, cannot be doubted, so that at least one cause of the migration may be regarded as permanent. Then, too, the presence of a negro labor supply in the North has already done much to quiet the cry for immigration, so that the restriction of immigration also bids fair to become a permanent feature. It would do no harm, at any rate, for the nation to regard the migration as a force which shall in the end achieve a complete redistribution of negro population, and to prepare accordingly to meet the strain on existing racial adjustments.

III

CONSEQUENCES OF THE MIGRATION

Assuming, then, that the migration is to go far beyond its present proportions, what are the consequences? Perhaps more thought has been given to the causes of the migration than to the results, but the time is rapidly approaching when such results, not causes and conditions, must occupy our attention.

The more *immediate results* of the migration need little elaboration. Let us outline them briefly.

(1) *Agricultural*—Southern agriculture has few regrets over the loss of the negro, for the southern white land-owner is waking to the fact that the exodus of the negro is a result and not a cause of the agricultural crisis and that his elimination is a healthful sign. Problems there will be, of course, (such as labor shortage for a few years) but the net result shall be the improvement of agriculture and the emancipation of the southern white farmer from his old master, black labor.

(2) *Industrial*—The negro as a laborer in the north is already creating new problems. On the

one hand, they are the same problems as appear with respect to an influx of cheap foreign labor; on the other hand, they are problems of race. The East St. Louis and Chicago race riots are evidence of the inevitable race conflict which must precede the mutual adjustment of the negro and northern industry.

(3) *Political*—The negro vote has already become the pawn of politicians in northern cities, notably Chicago, and it is not improbable that the negro may become such a power in municipal politics that the philosophy and practice of the North in regard to his political status may be at variance. Of course, the extent to which the negro in the North will use the ballot toward improving his racial status cannot be foreseen, but we may point out the fact that a wide range of problems may arise from that direction.

(4) *An intensified struggle for existence* is not least among the consequences of the migration—not only of negro versus negro and versus white labor, but of the negro with the northern winters, low wages, poor housing, social discrimination, and a host of other conditions. Thus far the death-rate of the negro in the North exceeds his birth-rate, and this is perhaps due to the intense economic struggle for existence rather than to any natural incapacity of the negro to endure northern climatic conditions. Certainly there shall be a weeding-out process for a time, and the negro who learns his lesson of health and hygiene is the one who shall survive.

Now let us take the broad look and attempt to detect the more *ultimate consequences* of the redistribution of negro population.

(1) *The race problem cannot remain sectional*—that is certain. Once it could be ignored or disposed of philosophically by the North and West. Gradually, however, as the entire nation comes into daily contact with the negro at an increasing number of points, problems of race relations shall begin to have a national tone. Sections which have never known the meaning of the negro question are destined to become intensely interested in their new "race problems." Between the discriminating practices of the South and the abstract equality of the North opinion shall vacillate in these new negro sections until black-white relations are re-defined.

(2) *New racial adjustments*—Old racial adjustments are rapidly weakening. The rise of the

Ku Klux Klan is largely attributable to a reaction to the liberal tendency in race relations. Certainly the redistribution of the negro population is to strain present racial adjustments still more. The North is going to learn more about the negro in the next ten years than it has learned since the Civil War; and however much we would like to believe otherwise, the attitude of the North cannot help but become a shade less tolerant than it has been. Thousands of negroes who find economic salvation in the North are to be disappointed socially. That inevitable color line will intrude, and the negro will be forced back into his own race, will be thrown more and more upon the organizations and institutions of his own race for his salvation.

We must not think of the negro in the North as being permanently a mere industrial factor. Sooner or later he will enter commercial, business, and professional pursuits and shall live in the smaller cities and towns of the North as well as in the industrial centers. It is then—when the negro is distributed fairly evenly throughout the North—that the real test of present racial attitudes shall come.

Let us take, for example, a typical small town of the North and examine the racial situation. Delaware, Ohio, claims to have no race problem. Its total population is 8,756, of which 2.9 per cent is colored. The negroes have rather naturally settled in one section of the town. They maintain three churches, one bank, several stores, and two pool rooms. Population is stationary; in 1922 there were eight negro births and eight deaths, and there was no gain or loss by migration. In 1922 there was not a single case of negro crime, and family trouble and immorality are quite rare. Employment is fairly regular, and, while the negroes suffer from low wages and unsanitary living conditions, they offer no great burden in the way of pauperism, defectiveness, or delinquency. On the whole, Delaware could hardly be distinguished from the typical southern small town in respect to its race relations, except for the fact that in Delaware the children of both races attend the same schools.

Let us imagine that ten years hence the negro population of this town is 15 per cent of the total; that the question of segregation threatens; that competition between whites and negroes becomes keen; that family demoralization, child delin-

quency, and poverty increase; that the contacts at school and public places become more frequent. Would the people of Delaware maintain their traditional attitude of tolerance? Very likely they would not; and how much more critical the situation would be in the larger cities! What passes for tolerance in the North is often only a passive intolerance, and there is danger that the North may react too far from its traditional belief in equality.

Truly, racial adjustments are going to be tested in every way. However much we would like to believe that the spirit of coöperation in race relations is going to become supreme as a result of the North's new interest in the problem, we must admit that human nature and history point the other way, namely, that the attitude of the masses of the whites is more likely to become less tolerant.

In the South, too, the agricultural exodus is leaving an urban-dwelling negro race more and more at the mercy of the white man. While the movement toward inter-racial coöperation will doubtless continue to grow, it cannot counteract the tendency toward a more rigid southern caste system.

Both in the North and in the South, then, the opportunity to put race relations on an intelligent and coöperative basis shall challenge us; but our emotional and impulsive reactions are likely to triumph, with the net result that the negro shall be forced to depend upon himself to an increasing extent. How difficult to dare test democracy in race relations, to practice equality, to permit open competition; and how easy to put the whole thing out of the realm of conflict by entrenching behind the barriers of caste.

(3) *Birth of negro nationalism*—Any attempt to solve the race problem by a caste arrangement merely postpones the day when the white man must face the issue squarely and settle it, not according to his own convenience, but by making concessions to the powerful and race-conscious blacks. The progress of the negro since emancipation should be warning enough against the caste method.

The city has ever been the birthplace of intense racial consciousness and of nationalism. The case of the negro is not far different from that of the Central European racial groups which developed the spirit of nationalism during the nine-

teenth century. The concentration of negro population in American cities points toward the rise of a class of negroes dependent upon industrial labor and limited business pursuits—the negro middle class. And it is only a matter of time until this class manifests that consciousness which has so often been the mother of nationalism.

Is the rise of negro nationalism too improbable, impossible? No. Does not every intolerant move of the white man beget stronger consciousness in the negro race? And does not every inter-racial coöperative effort teach the negro the way to self-development and power? Negro leaders are even now grasping the idea of a racial mission, of a divinely ordained plan behind the negro's bondage and his struggle with the white race, of the negro's right to a national existence, and soon the disciples of the new nationalism shall carry the message to all their race.

It is not that the negro is at present fully aware of any nationalistic movement on his part. His motives for migration are a different matter from the remote effects which that migration is going to have upon him. But history teaches us that the subordinate race, having tasted half-freedom and having sipped of the higher culture of the "superior" race, but finding the barriers set up against complete equality, turns to nationalism as a means of achieving its aspirations; and the broad look through the present shifting of negro population leads to the conviction that one of its greatest consequences shall be a movement toward negro nationalism.

COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE CHRISTIAN WAY OF LIFE

A Tentative Statement—To encourage and assist inquiries into the nature of the relationships between different racial and national groups in American communities, estimating the evidences of mutual understandings and locating the nature and origin of existing or threatening misunderstandings, maladjustments and conflicts between such groups.

To make available for those participating in such inquiries material for a comparison of their experience and personal knowledge with the wider experience of the world in race relations and with scientific knowledge concerning the underlying factors.

To promote, on the basis of such inquiries and by means of examples from the experience of other communities and groups, the discovery of ways of conduct by which understanding and good will between racial and national groups may be conserved and misunderstandings be removed, maladjustments be remedied and conflicts be averted; and the choice of experimental measures through which members of the group itself may actively apply such conduct.

The total inquiry would, therefore, stimulate a desire to participate, by personal conduct and group action, in a nation-wide effort to find a way of life which would bring racial groups into right relationships and to compare this with the principles of life and conduct evolved through Christian experience.

County and Country Life Programs

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

SCIENCE PLUS COMMON SENSE IN RURAL WEST VIRGINIA

THOMAS L. HARRIS

IN THIS formative period of sociology as a science many men and women who are not "professional" sociologists or social workers are making important contributions both to the content and method of sociology. When those of us who are definitely interested in seeing sociology develop into a genuine science realize the enormous amount of painstaking and intelligent observation and analysis of social phenomena that is indispensable, we welcome the assistance of any workers who can help us. To be sure, we must reserve the right to pass upon the scientific value of work done by "laymen," but we need all the help we can get. Possibly, too, the "laymen" need the assistance of the social scientists. To bring about a happy and fruitful correlation of labors should be one of our goals; and journals dealing, in a scientific way, with significant social conditions and problems can profitably give attention, now and then, to well-directed and intelligent social processes in many different fields of human action; even though the workers in such fields may be altogether unconscious of any scientific aim or method. It is because he has these convictions that the writer deems it worth while to present a brief straightforward analysis of a connected series of certain rural life activities in West Virginia which are profoundly affecting the lives of the half million people who live on West Virginia farms.

These activities are directed by the extension division of the West Virginia University College of Agriculture and have been gradually built up through a series of several years of intelligent and purposeful work by several different men and women on the staff of the extension division. While the three chief lines of work are closely correlated, those responsible for the success of

each phase are *particularly* interested in their own work and are held responsible for its success. To be sure, the rural people themselves, in so far as they have coöperated with the extension division, have been and are, indispensable elements in the carrying out of the program. An increasing number of farmers and their families are becoming vitally interested in the rural life program, for they realize the whole thing has as its aim the vitalizing and refining of both the personal and institutional elements of country life.

After considering, briefly, the underlying spirit and purpose of the whole movement, we shall discuss each of the two phases in turn, and conclude with some estimate of the value of this work, both to the rural people of West Virginia and to the rapidly growing but infant, science of Rural Sociology.

To an unusual degree, the director in charge of all extension activities of the West Virginia University College of Agriculture has succeeded in "inoculating" the whole staff with the community view point. In the monthly staff meetings, as well as on other appropriate occasions, the director, Mr. Nat T. Frame, makes clear to his workers that the unifying goal of all their different lines of work is a higher, more satisfying type of rural life in West Virginia. Even to the stranger who "sits in" on these meetings this fact is evident, if said stranger is at all responsive to the general drift of the discussions, questions and reports. The live stock and crop specialists, as well as the boys' and girls' club workers (who might be called the "human specialists"), are constantly reminded, if they need any reminding, that the all-embracing purpose of their work is to help produce better boys and girls, men and women, on West Virginia farms.

To be sure, each one must use the *instruments* he knows best, to accomplish this object. Therefore, to arouse a vital and competitive interest in pig and calf clubs is often an excellent *means* to the human end. Indeed, the best single illustration of this very process came to the writer's attention from one of the live stock specialists who had been deeply touched by the pathos involved in the losing of a calf club contest by a bright fourteen-year-old lad, who, with tears in his eyes, told the specialist how his hopes of going to high school had gone glimmering because he lost this contest, and inquired most earnestly how he might take better care of his calf the following year. Instances of this kind could be multiplied indefinitely, for both boys and girls.

In the "little mountain state" of West Virginia there are approximately nine hundred rural communities, and it is the aim of the extension division to build its whole program of work more and more upon the community basis; that is, it is the working philosophy of these wise and practical people that their individual efforts in their various fields will be vastly more fruitful if there are as many community forces at work as possible. The specialist and club agent must needs come and go. The community is permanent; and if there is even a small bit of an active nucleus or stimulus that is kept abiding *in* the community, by means of a 4-H Club, a Farm Bureau or a Woman's Club, there is a constant fulcrum which can be utilized whenever new or old community problems arise.

I. *The "4-H Club" Program.* West Virginia is not alone in having club activities for her farm boys and girls; but there are some features of the work in West Virginia that are distinctive, and perhaps these distinctive features are also among the most valuable. Incidentally, it might be said that the "West Virginia idea" has attracted both national and international attention. Club leaders and club boys and girls have been asked to go to other states to give demonstrations of certain effective features of the work; and at present Miss Mary Moreland, a member of the extension staff, is in Serbia at the invitation of the Serbian government, to help them get something similar to the 4-H idea going among the farm boys and girls of Serbia.

The boys' and girls' "4-H Clubs" have a very definite and a very constructive program. The

early "teen age" is the period of life for which the program is built, although one of the slogans of the clubs is, "Once a 4-H'er always a 4-H'er." No doubt this slogan is borrowed from the Boy Scouts. Indeed, the 4-H program is intended to do practically the same for the farm boy and girl that the Scout program does for the city boy and girl; and it is not an extreme statement to make, that *every* normal boy and girl of the early "teen age" should have the opportunity for wholesome, largely self-directed competitive activity that these programs offer. An essential part of the whole idea of both Scouts and 4-H Clubs is the seizing upon the perfectly natural *group spirit*, out of which proceed loyalty, leadership and coöperation, and *guiding* that group spirit in its energizing and fructifying influence upon the individual boy and girl.

The club leaders are tactfully, but definitely, impressed with this guiding principle. That is, when they are teaching the boys to raise better pigs, calves and corn; when they are teaching the girls to be better cooks and seamstresses, they are not only adding to the worth while material resources of West Virginia, but chiefly they are using the interest developed in these activities to build intelligence, reliability, alertness, wholesomeness, into the lives of farm boys and girls. These qualities will be of lasting value, no matter where the boy lives or what he does; and if it be true, as Mr. C. J. Galpin points out, that in a very real sense the rural people are rearing not only the future farmers, but the future city workers as well, how indispensable it is to a more efficient and intelligent citizenship that as many farm boys and girls as possible have these opportunities for an all-round development.

The "4-H's" are the hand, heart, health and head, representing the four phases of life which every normal boy and girl has. That is, manual skill, vital spirituality, good physique, and well-developed intelligence are indispensable requisites for every boy and girl if they are to secure the satisfaction and success in life that all crave for.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the 4-H Clubs is their emphasis on religious training and the spiritual life. It is the writer's conviction, based upon knowledge of or experience with boys and girls club work in five different states, that the skill with which religious and moral training is interwoven with the whole club program in

West Virginia is the capstone of the entire project, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say it is the permeating *principle* of all phases of the work. All club leaders are not only imbued with the significance of this idea, but they are also specifically trained in a flexible plan for the securing of results. The religious work is entirely on a non-sectarian basis, and is made both practical and attractive. Substantial results are very evident in the universally high character of the young men and women now in college or in active business or farm life who have been members of 4-H Clubs. Results are also evident in the naturalness and effectiveness with which the boys and girls "lead" the beautiful Sunday evening "vesper services" which are a regular part of every county and state camp's daily program. These "vesper services" are looked forward to as eagerly as are the athletics, stock-judging or any other part of club activities.

The county camps are held during the summer, and are attended by those boys and girls of the county who have reached a certain standard of excellence in their previous year's work. Thus attendance at a county camp is a real "reward of merit." The camp lasts one week, is in charge of competent adult leaders, and is very inexpensive, as most of the food supplies are brought from home. A remarkable degree of self-direction is developed and encouraged. No doubt part of this "self-government" achievement is made possible because farm boys and girls naturally, in their home environment, are early taught to be self-reliant and resourceful. The club leaders simply direct and stimulate this spirit of initiative and resourcefulness by wise guidance. In West Virginia the "natural" conditions as to religion in rural communities also favor the policy of the club leaders in their emphasizing of spiritual and moral training, or the "Heart H." That is, 98 per cent of the strictly farm people of West Virginia are native white and about the same per cent are Protestant, mostly Methodist and Baptist. Probably no state in the Union has a more homogeneous rural population. Even those farm people who are not church members are almost universally friendly toward religion. They like to see their boys and girls receive training along religious lines. Such a policy would no doubt be impractical in the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nebraska or even Ohio, where large elements

of foreign-born farmers, with a variety of religious affiliations, make the problem of club work, in its religious and moral aspects, more difficult. The West Virginia club leaders have seized upon a fortunate combination of circumstances, and used it tactfully and wisely, in the enrichment of their boys and girls program.

The rural school teachers are encouraged to help in the carrying on of club work, by giving to them "coupons of credit" and small cash additions to their salary, for organizing and carrying on club work. The "county agents" (men) and the "home demonstration agents" (women) also count the supervision and encouraging of club work one of their most important duties. A considerable number of these rural teachers and county agents are doing most excellent work with their boys and girls. In many of the West Virginia county fairs the boys and girls club exhibits are far superior to those of their elders, considering the relative experience and age of the two groups.

The state camp, at Jackson's Mill, near the center of the state, in some respects at least, forms the climax of club work. Here, each summer, a goodly number of boys and girls (largely county prize winners) from all over the state gather for a week of instruction and entertainment. The boys and girls come in separate groups, each group for a week. The camp is in a beautiful rural setting, and the experienced club leaders plan an all-round and varied program, built always upon the 4-H principle. Constructive co-operative effort might be said to be the keynote of the camp spirit. The boys and girls themselves carry brick, stone and mortar, put up buildings and fences and create decorative effects, for the camp is yet new and the West Virginia legislature has made only small appropriations for the work. The state, however, both the people and the government, are definitely committed to the support and development of the 4-H Clubs. The citizens of Charleston (the state capital) have recently made a generous donation for purchase of land and construction of buildings for a permanent "State Fair Grounds" for boys and girls clubs' annual exhibits. Some of the men's civic organizations in certain cities have helped finance the county camps and some of the farm women's clubs have furnished scholarships to worthy farm boys and girls otherwise unable to complete their

education at the State University. One of the most significant features of the annual "Farmers' Week" at Morgantown (which is the location of the West Virginia University) is the appearance upon the platform of some of these former 4-H boys and girls, now university students. At the 1922 program the demonstration of club work by the boys and girls was perhaps the most ingenious and interesting feature of the whole week's program.

II. *The Country Life Conference and the Scoring of Rural Communities.* In nearly all social processes, especially those dealing with community activities and programs, there is a desirable and inevitable inter-weaving of varied factors and no one can be considered entirely apart from the others. This scientific principle applies particularly to the rural community, for this type of group is relatively simple as to social structure. That is, each and every farm family is directly affected by every agency and activity that is present in the community. The farmer or his wife, son or daughter can not "pick and choose" his social and human relationships as freely as his city cousin. Whatever the rural church, the rural school, the farmers' club, the village barber shop, offers him, he must take, whether he likes it or not; whether he thinks it adequate or not. He has the alternatives of being a recluse or taking whatever social life his community offers. The normal man or woman will not be a recluse, therefore he is a sharer of the common life, good or bad. Even in these days of improved roads and automobiles the major part of the average farmer's social life is spent in his local community. He may travel to the near by city frequently, for business or to attend conventions of various kinds, and these broader contacts are immensely worth while. It remains true, however, that the determining factors in his social life are those in his own home community. He can help improve them or not, but he and his family can not escape their influences. It is probably a realization of this supreme importance of the community life to rural people that has caused the director of extension activities and his staff, at West Virginia University College of Agriculture, to decide some four or five years ago that henceforward the guiding *principle* of their extension work would be the "community idea," the *goal* that of human improvement, the *means* all those activities which

would promote the achievement of this goal, whether those activities were *directly* and *immediately* concerned with developing better breeds of live stock, better types of crops, wiser soil treatment, more economical and intelligent marketing, 4-H Club work, lyceums and lectures, or correspondence courses for farm men and women of the most progressive and intellectual type. "We must be all things to all men, that thereby we may win some," or rather that we may help farm people to win for themselves a fuller and more satisfying life. Some such idea as this must have been in the minds of the director of extension and his staff when they inaugurated the comprehensive program that is now in process of being carried out. The long-time look ahead has been specially emphasized, in the case of the "Country-Life Conferences" and "Scoring of Rural Communities," which will now be briefly described. The necessity for a coördinating or unifying force, to aid in the realization of the above stated comprehensive aim, was keenly felt by those responsible for the direction of the extension work. After careful consideration the idea of the "Country-Life Conference" was hit upon, and was immediately put into operation, at first somewhat as an experiment. Now, after three years of actual operation it has passed the experimental stage, for the beneficial effects are already clearly apparent. Some of the *methods* will no doubt be modified, but the general guiding principle and practice have been established. The process in its main outstanding features will undoubtedly be continued, at least until practically every one of the nine hundred rural communities of West Virginia have been "scored." Even after that, there will be need for an indefinite continuance of the process; for "re-scoring" has already begun, and quite a number of the one hundred and forty communities that have been scored the first time have asked for and received a second and a third scoring. When the process of community self-improvement is once begun every new high mark is merely a vantage point for further advance. There are several notable instances of this very situation.

The typical Country-Life Conference is brought into being and carried on, somewhat as follows:

Whenever a county agent or other authorized representative of the extension division thinks the time is ripe for a community forward

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movement, he encourages a few leading men and women in the neighborhood to *request* a Country-Life Conference. This preliminary is important, for it is a cardinal principle of the work that nothing in the way of undesired "uplift" is to be forced down the throats of the rural people. After satisfactory evidence is produced at the Morgantown headquarters that the people of the given neighborhood *want* a conference, definite plans are made for it. The coöperation of local and state agencies, so far as possible, is secured. The public health authorities, the state and county Sunday school associations, the county school superintendent and others gladly give their services, in the discussion of phases of the community life in which they are specially interested. These "services" consist of informal, but specific talks, or the conducting of round table discussions, or both. Certain extension workers are assigned to have charge; and the whole conference is under the general direction of Mr. A. H. Rapking, a capable young Methodist preacher, who was "captured" in Ohio and brought to West Virginia to head up this work. The conference work has grown so rapidly he can not personally attend *all* of them; but he is responsible for their planning and success. The programs are printed neatly on a single large sheet of paper and sent on ahead to the community for distribution. The name of every speaker, every subject and every coöperating organization is plainly stated on the program, for rural people are careful and critical readers of whatever interests them.

The conference is a three-day affair. It is usually held in the church building, if one is accessible. The opening meeting is held Friday evening; and this starter is conducted very much as any vital religious service would be conducted. The pith and heart of the service is the sermon; and when Mr. Rapking is in charge this sermon is one hour to one hour and a half in length. It is only slightly theological in its nature; but it is distinctly spiritual. To a rare degree, Mr. Rapking succeeds in combining the social, spiritual and personal viewpoints. He knows country people and their ways; he has a naive and delightful sense of humor; he tells some excellent stories to illustrate his points. The church is crowded and no one leaves till all is finished. Many a time, as the farmer trudges down the road to

his near-by home, swinging his lantern to light his steps, he says to his companion: "Mary, wish we could have that 'parson' preach to us *every* week."

The whole tone and spirit of the conference is well set in that first meeting. It is followed by a conference of workers and scorers Saturday afternoon, a general meeting Saturday night, another Sunday morning, a basket dinner at noon, an afternoon and an evening meeting. Interest increases with each successive part of the program, and the meeting is closed Sunday night with a genuinely "socialized" spiritual service.

The "scoring" of the community begins Saturday afternoon, and the first part of it is "a history of the community," written usually by an elderly resident. Some very excellent literary productions, that are also accurate and of real sociological value, are thus created. The work of scoring proceeds under the direction of the extension specialists and the county agents. It is based upon a very definite and unique score card which divides all significant rural life into ten subdivisions. Each subdivision is rated on the basis of the facts, so nearly as they can be obtained; and it is remarkable how large an accumulation of facts about their farm and community life rural people "carry in their heads." As the writer has seen the wholesome effects of these country life conferences, the *continued* interest of the people in the improvement of the community, and the intelligent and effective "follow-up work" of the extension staff, he has become thoroughly convinced that the conferences represent one of the most thorough-going and successful attempts now being made toward the bettering of the conditions under which one-third of our American population lives.

The whole program of community conferences and scoring is very greatly aided by the using of three unique and substantial bulletins prepared by the extension division and widely circulated among the rural people of the state who are interested in this program. These bulletins have been very carefully worked out, from the ingenious and attractive cover page to the concluding item. Their titles are: "Focusing on the Country Community;" "Lifting the Country Community by Its Own Boot Straps;" and "Helping the Country Community Saw Wood on Its Community Pro-

gram." Human interest, technical knowledge of rural problems, and journalistic skill have combined to make these bulletins unusually effective.

No one connected with these West Virginia Country-Life Conferences and scoring programs claims that the "scoring" is a 100 per cent "scientific" process. It is not even a "survey," in the generally accepted sense of the term. It is however, an excellent means for determining the necessary and appropriate next step in the making more worth while of a particular rural community. Incidentally, whether those who carry on the program realize it or not, the whole process has immense scientific value; for it is based on inductive study, it is forward looking and ra-

tional, it is open-minded in spirit. At the beginning it was distinctly experimental; it remains so in spirit, for whenever a "better way" is found to secure certain important results, the *knowledge* of this better way is at once passed on to all members of the working staff.

Both in the end and in the meantime, whatever of real improvement comes to American rural life must come because farm people themselves take hold of their problems and work them out. Guidance and stimulus from "outsiders" will always be helpful; especially if these "outsiders" work in the spirit of sympathy and intelligence. Science and common sense have effectively joined hands in rural West Virginia.

Progress in Town and City Programs

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

COMMUNITY FORCES: A STUDY OF THE NON-PARTISAN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN SEATTLE. II.

R. D. MCKENZIE

3. CLASS CONFLICT

THE NON-PARTISAN election has very successfully eliminated party consciousness from municipal affairs. To be sure the socialists have had at least one or two candidates in the field at every election from 1911 to 1918 inclusive, but only a few of their men survived the primaries and none was elected to office. But class consciousness as focused in the Central Labor Council on the one side, and in the Chamber of Commerce and Associated Industries on the other, has played a very important rôle in municipal elections. Class consciousness, of course, is not a fixed and definite thing; it changes from time to time both in intensity and scope. On some occasions class prejudice is scarcely discernible in municipal elections, as for instance in 1916, or again during recent years; other times it plays a dominant rôle, dividing the community into two hostile camps, as in the councilmanic election of 1919, and the mayoralty campaign of 1920.

But the very fact that class feeling fluctuates in intensity from time to time makes its influence all the more subtle and unpredictable. The public official who attempts to serve all the people is ever in a quandary lest in granting the wishes of one group he may thereby offend another. Organized capital seldom openly participates in the political struggle. It is the general policy of the Chamber of Commerce never officially to endorse a candidate for office. But by occasionally urging its members to "cast a careful and patriotic ballot for the right men, men of ability and patriotic standing"¹ it becomes an open secret in at least the inner group of organized labor, what

candidates are hostile to its interests. Even if the Chamber and other capitalistic groups refrain entirely from public comment on candidates, still scarcely an election takes place in which some office seekers are not branded as being the representatives of organized industry, and labor is cautioned accordingly.

Organized labor's participation in municipal elections, as indicated in its official organ, the *Union Record*, may be considered from three standpoints: (1) efforts to secure representation in city government either by the election of union men to office or by the election of outsiders favorable to the ideals and interests of unionism; (2) attempts to defeat all candidates stigmatized as being representatives of organized capital; (3) general attitude on questions of policy and administration.

Labor's representation in city government. From the very beginning of the non-partisan régime labor has been quite conscious of its rights and power in the determination of civic policies. This class conscious attitude is well illustrated in the following statement which appeared in the *Union Record* during the election campaign of 1915: "We want to tell you gentlemen (addressed to members of the Employers' Association) that this is just as much the city of the workers as it is of the shirkers, and that the workers are going to have their proper share in the government of the city. . . . The workers are going to resent your assumption that you possess all the brains, all the patriotism of the community, by giving an overwhelming vote to T. H. Bolton (then president of the Central Labor Council) and by complete elimination of all the candidates you have so carefully picked out."²

¹ *Seattle Spirit*, Feb. 27, 1919.

² February 13, 1915.

Every year since 1911 labor has endorsed one or more candidates for public office. Occasionally no strong labor representative has been in the field, but there has always been some one who has been considered worthy of endorsement. During the period covered in this study, three presidents of the Central Labor Council, one vice-president, one secretary, and one business agent, have been one or more times candidates for municipal office. In addition to these, two editors of the *Union Record* and several prominent leaders of local unions have filed for office. Organized labor has been rather successful in getting its candidates elected to the city council. Out of a total of 36 endorsements 16 candidates have been elected. Among those elected, however, only two were really members of organized labor, both having served terms as president of the Central Labor Council. Moreover, of these two union men, one has served continuously in the council since 1911 and was again reelected to office in May of this year, while the other after serving two consecutive terms in the city council has subsequently suffered two defeats for the same office. Both of these candidates received wide support outside the ranks of labor, and since entering public life both have lost status in official labor circles.

Only once since the city established the non-partisan system did labor seek to get a trade union man elected to the mayoralty. On several occasions labor has backed, with more or less enthusiasm, socialists and other candidates for the office of mayor, but it was not until 1920 that it made a concerted attempt to elect one of its own men, Mr. James Duncan, then secretary of the Central Labor Council, to the office of chief executive. After an intense campaign during which the entire city was divided into two contending camps, Mr. Duncan was defeated.

Opposition to organized capital. In its opposition to candidates endorsed or supposed to be endorsed by "big business," labor's influence has been shown just as effectively as in its positive efforts to elect its own men to office. The *Union Record* actively opposed, during the period in question, 14 councilmanic candidates whom it claimed were endorsed by organized capital; of these, 7 were defeated at the polls. The elation over the defeat of candidates reputed to have received the endorsement of business organizations is well depicted in the following excerpt

taken from the *Union Record*, March 6, 1915, "Hardly less satisfying than the election of Bolton is the absolute elimination of all candidates who were branded as the representatives of the Employers' Association."

The same psychology is again illustrated in labor's change of heart in 1918 with regard to Mr. Hiram Gill, then mayor of Seattle. Mr. Gill had been mayor of the city for a number of terms but had never received the official endorsement of organized labor. During his last year of office he incurred the displeasure of some large private interests, on account of his stand on certain municipal enterprises; he also had become involved in the courts on some other matters, and, though vindicated, was deserted by most of his old supporters. When he refiled for office in 1918 labor forthwith took him to its bosom, endorsed his candidacy, and made him an honorary member of a local union. The odds, however, were too great and Mr. Gill failed to win the nomination and so his long and dramatic political career came to an end.

Twice only during the 13 years in question, namely, 1919 and 1920, was class consciousness injected into municipal elections sufficiently to arouse the entire community. On many previous occasions there had been intense rivalry within the inner circles of the two conflicting forces, but it was not till the spring election of 1919 that the community as a whole was split into two contending camps. This was the first election after the general strike in 1918; consequently class feeling was still intense. Nine candidates filed for councilmanic nomination, three of the existing council whose terms had expired, and six others, four of whom were union men. The three incumbent councilmen and three prominent labor men survived the primaries, then the contest began. The election campaign was full of excitement; all the sympathizers of radical labor backed the union candidates while the remainder of the community rallied to the support of the three experienced officials. Organized business was alarmed; the Chamber of Commerce issued the following formal statement: "Whereas the Seattle Central Labor Council has nominated three of its members as its particular candidates for the positions of city councilmen at the forthcoming municipal election . . . now therefore be it resolved by this council that we urge upon all fair minded

and patriotic citizens of Seattle the necessity of going to the polls at the next city election and voting for those candidates for city councilmen who are not subservient to and are not nominated nor controlled by any one organization or class, but who may be expected from their past records and associations to represent all classes of this city in our municipal affairs."³ Many of the ministers in the various city churches urged their congregation to go to the polls and support law and decency. The result of the election was the complete defeat of the labor candidates.

On the evening following the election the *Union Record* came out with an editorial under the caption "Defeated but Undismayed" which said in part, "Yesterday's election was the first time the line was ever clearly drawn in this city between the gang of profiteers that have always in the past controlled civic affairs and the progressive elements of the city under the leadership of labor."⁴ The editorial further explained labor's defeat as due to lack of continuous political machinery and the failure of union men to register.

Again in 1920 labor was active in municipal politics. Eight candidates for council, six of whom were union men, were endorsed by the *Union Record*, but this time interest centered chiefly in the mayoralty contest. Mr. James Duncan, then secretary of the Central Labor Council, filed for the office of mayor. Duncan was successful in the primaries although supported by only one city newspaper, the *Union Record*. The campaign preceding the final election was very intense. The issue was made one of "loyalty" and "patriotism" by the three opposing newspapers, while the *Union Record* supported Duncan as the "people's candidate." As already intimated, labor suffered a severe defeat, but this time two of the councilmanic candidates endorsed by the *Union Record* were elected.

Since 1920 labor's participation in municipal politics has been rather casual. Several candidates have been endorsed by the *Union Record*, but the enthusiasm of earlier years has been lacking.

Attitudes on municipal questions. Labor's position with regard to measures has not been so clear cut as on candidates. In general it has favored all *bona fide* moves in the direction of

municipal ownership, including the single tax amendments of 1912 and 1913. As to public welfare measures, labor has had no definite policy, each issue being considered on the basis of its own individual merits with special reference to its effect upon the workers. As a general rule labor officially backs public works enterprises involving bond issues unless the merits of the particular case warrant otherwise. But bond-issue propositions are never officially denounced on the ground of public economy. Labor's philosophy in this regard is pointedly stated in the *Union Record*, March, 1917: "No working man pays enough of the taxes of a community directly for him to worry his poor head one little mite how much the levy may amount to . . . More bond issues as a rule mean more work, more work means better wages and less unemployment—the two things in which the worker is principally interested."⁵

Labor seldom stands alone in its political recommendations; its endorsements are usually duplicated by some other organization or newspaper. Even the Chamber of Commerce occasionally passes similar judgment to that of organized labor on measures about to come before the electorate for decision.

The *Union Record* made in all 111 recommendations on the 149 measures that came before the people during the last thirteen years. Of course all papers do not make recommendations on the same measures. The following table (VIII), however, shows the extent of agreement on those issues upon which the other papers, together with the Chamber of Commerce and the Municipal League, passed judgment along with the *Union Record*.

TABLE VIII

Newspaper or Organization	Number of Measures on which both groups made recommendations	Per cent of agreement with <i>Union Record</i>
Times	90	47.8
Post Intelligencer	94	53.2
Star	88	78.4
Chamber of Commerce	32	25.0
Municipal League	41	63.4

It will be observed that the *Record* stands much closer to the *Star* than to either of the other

³ *Seattle Spirit*, Feb. 20, 1919.

⁴ March 5, 1919.

⁵ While this may represent the philosophy of labor leaders there is little evidence to show that the working-man follows this advice. The results of the election, on the eve of which this advice was given, show that the labor precincts voted just as strongly against the bond issues, as those precincts in the highest economic districts of the city.

papers, also that it has a much greater correspondence of attitude with the Municipal League than with the Chamber of Commerce.

4. CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

Seattle, like every other large city, possesses a great many civic organizations which seek to arouse the lethargic voter to the performance of his civic duties around election dates, and which attempt to furnish him with free information and advice as to how he may best perform these duties. Many of the so-called civic organizations lie dormant throughout the year coming to life merely during the campaign periods preceding elections; others maintain offices and staffs and are more or less active throughout the year. Occasionally a "Voter's Guide" suddenly springs into existence during a campaign and vigorously champions the cause of one or two candidates or measures only to disappear after election day has passed. Examples of such organizations are: Investigating Committee of 1911, the Advisory Committee of 1913, the Patriotic League of 1917, and the Seattle Advisory Council of 1922. As far as can be ascertained these organizations were promoted by a small number of individuals who had their own particular axes to grind and therefore employed imposing names and made wide use of newspaper publicity to achieve their personal ends. It is impossible for the uninitiated voter, the newcomer to the city, to distinguish between the bogus and the genuine among these civic organizations that proffer advice to the public on political questions.

Types and functions of civic organizations. Of the permanent civic organizations there are those that limit their activities to particular aspects of municipal life, such as tax reduction, or municipal ownership. There is also a large group of organizations that exist for other purposes but occasionally participate in municipal questions to the extent at least of publicly endorsing certain candidates or measures; examples of such organizations are the Chamber of Commerce, Seattle Council of Churches, Federated Women's Clubs, the Bolo Club, and the Federated Improvement Clubs. There is but one organization with permanent tenure that is interested in all phases of city progress, and exists for no other purpose, namely, the Seattle Municipal League.

All the civic organizations rely upon the daily press as the chief agency for getting their ideas before the general public. For more limited distribution, and for membership information, special bulletins and reports are issued periodically. During election campaigns circulars and posters are distributed in huge quantities among the people, especially by those organizations whose main interest lies in the problems of tax reduction. It is also the custom of most of the civic organizations just before elections to invite the various candidates for office to make brief addresses at their noon luncheons showing their stand on different leading issues.

It is impossible to measure the relative political strength of the various civic organizations. The influence of an organization depends upon its prestige in the community. As a general community builder perhaps the Chamber of Commerce is the most influential organization in the city; it has the largest membership and represents the most money power. Its interest in political questions, however, is merely incidental. As already intimated, only occasionally has it made its position clear, to the outsider at least, as to whom it considers desirable candidates for municipal office. More frequently it takes action on political measures and propositions that it considers vital to the welfare of the city. But its great limitation as a political force lies in the fact that to the public mind it represents organized capital, and its official endorsements are, therefore, usually *ipso facto* opposed by all who have opposite class sympathies. A candidate for office, a few years ago when class feeling was high, usually took special pains to enlighten the public that he wished the endorsement of neither the Chamber of Commerce nor the Central Labor Council.

Of the single purpose organizations the Tax Payers' League has had the most continuous tenure. Organized in 1910 it has maintained an office and staff ever since. The league at present has a membership of about 200 of the heavier taxpayers of the city. Having a permanent secretary it investigates civic problems involving the expenditure of the taxpayers' money, and through the publication of facts both in the city newspapers and in special reports, it brings some pressure to bear upon administrative department heads and executive officials. At election seasons

it investigates measures, directly or indirectly pertaining to taxation, and makes recommendations to the voters thereon. During the past decade the league has worked for the city manager form of government, for county-city consolidation, and for a conservative policy in port development.

The Voters' Information League, organized in 1921, has much the same purpose as the Taxpayers' League. Its attention is directed mainly to questions of economic efficiency in city government. However it has undertaken the additional task of supplying the voter with information regarding the qualifications of candidates for office. It is especially active during election periods in the support or condemnation of measures directly pertaining to problems of taxation. This organization is active throughout the year in the investigation of many matters connected with municipal economy and efficiency. While of comparatively recent origin its influence as a civic organization is extending rapidly.

The Tax Reduction Council of Seattle is an "organization of 54 civic and fraternal associations with the object of lowering public expenditure and taxation." It is closely allied with the Taxpayers' League and has the same secretary. The organization functions during election time by working for candidates and measures that are in harmony with its policies.

The Municipal Ownership League, as the title implies, restricts its activities to questions of municipal ownership. The organization lies dormant most of the time coming to life only when a public ownership project is about to be considered. It has worked in behalf of all propositions pertaining to municipal ownership that have come before the electorate during the past decade.

By far the most important civic organization in the city is the Seattle Municipal League. Organized in 1910, the league has been active in civic reform ever since. For the first few years after its inception the league grew rapidly in numbers and prestige, until just prior to the war it reached a membership of approximately 1,400. War conditions unhappily reduced its ranks to about one-third of its former size but it is once more gaining rapidly in membership and influence. The Municipal League is really the only civic organization in Seattle that devotes its entire attention to disinterested civic progress. Its membership

to a considerable extent represents a cross section of the voting male population of the city. Analysis of the membership lists shows, however, that the league is somewhat topheavy in professional and business representatives. The Municipal League is active throughout the year in the study and promotion of municipal projects. Its participation in city elections in the form of investigation of candidates and measures and the publication of its recommendations for the information of the voter represents but a small fraction of its tasks, but as this study is limited to a consideration of election data I shall not discuss the between-election activities of the league.

The Municipal League has been criticized by one element of the community as being reactionary in its civic policies and closely allied with "big business;" on the other hand it has been just as severely stigmatized as being radical, a proponent of all the "isms." While the dual nature of this criticism is in itself good evidence that the league does its own thinking, still an actual comparison of its political endorsements with those of the Chamber of Commerce on the one hand, and of the *Union Record* on the other, will more definitely vindicate its neutrality. It is possible to compare the three groups on only those measures on which all three made their positions known to the public. During the period which we are studying there were but 40 political measures, omitting port and school questions, on which all three groups presented advisory ballots to the electorate. Taking the Municipal League as the base, the Chamber of Commerce agreed in 28 or 70 per cent of its recommendations, the *Union Record* in 23 or 57.5 per cent; while the *Union Record* agreed with the Chamber of Commerce in only 13 or 32.5 per cent of its recommendations.⁶ This clearly shows that while the league is somewhat more akin to the Chamber of Commerce in its thinking, nevertheless its position is quite independent and free from class bias.

In order to show how closely the League's recommendations, on both candidates and measures, have corresponded with the election results, I present the following table:

⁶This does not seem to correspond with the facts presented in Table VIII. The apparent discrepancy, however, is due to the fact that here only those measures are included on which all three groups made recommendations while in Table VIII the percentages are worked in each case from a larger list of measures on which any two groups presented ballots.

TABLE IX
RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SEATTLE MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Year	ELECTED OFFICIALS ⁶⁴			CHARTER AMENDMENTS AND PROPOSITIONS			
	Total	Endorsed	Opposed	No Comment	Total	Number of Recommendations	Per Cent Success
1911	*	*	*	*	10	6	33.3
1912	6	3	1	2	34	29	65.5
1913	3	2	0	1	20	20	80.0
1914	7	5	1	1	14	13	69.2
1915	3	3	0	0	12	6	83.3
1916	5	4	0	1	4	3	66.6
1917	3	2	1	0	3	3	100.0
1918	5	2	0	3	9	5	100.0
1919	4	3	0	1	13	12	100.0
1920	7	3	1	3	15	15	86.7
1921	3	2	1	0	7	7	71.5
1922	4	2	2	0	7	5	60.0
1923	4	0	0	4	1	1	00.0
Total	54	31	7	16	149	125	71.4

⁶⁴ The offices of city comptroller and treasurer are not included in this table, as they have been held by the same men throughout the entire period under consideration.

The League as a rule takes no stand with regard to public officials seeking reelection, the assumption being that their records are already known to the electorate. Occasionally too, the League has been so cautious in the presentation of its findings relative to candidates that it is impossible to determine its exact attitude; therefore the heading "no comment" is used to cover both types of cases.

On the whole the League has been quite successful in having its recommendations endorsed by the public. As seen in the foregoing table out of a total of 54 candidates elected to office the League endorsed 31 and opposed but 7. On measures also the League has scored well; it stands higher than any of the newspapers save the *Post Intelligencer*, notwithstanding the fact that it has to rely upon the good will of the press for most of its publicity.

5. PRIVATE INTERESTS

Undoubtedly private interests exert the major part of their political influence in an indirect and subtle manner. It is only occasionally that we find specific interest groups endorsing or opposing a candidate or measure. Consequently the extent of open participation in municipal elections is by no means a complete index of the amount of influence exerted by private interests. The extent of secret financial assistance given to supposedly disinterested organizations in their propaganda during election campaigns in support of

certain candidates and measures cannot be estimated. Through membership in tax reduction leagues and in business associations, the private interest exerts its influence in a very subtle but effective way. It is only when the political situation very directly affects the welfare of a particular private interest that it comes out and fights in the open during a political campaign. Franchises are sought and opposed by contending private interests in the form of paid oratory in the daily press. License-seeking groups work for the election or the defeat of councilmen favorable or hostile, as the case may be, to their special interests. Commercial and industrial associations keep an eye on the council committees, especially on the finance committee, and bring daily influence to bear upon the representatives of the people to act and vote in a way beneficial to organized business.

Opposition to municipal ownership. Almost invariably when the community is contemplating the question of public ownership of a function hitherto served by private capital, the private organizations concerned use their power and influence during election campaigns in precautioning the uninformed electorate against the evils of public ownership, supplying the people with large quantities of facts that prove beyond the peradventure of a doubt that public ownership of the function in question would stifle business and paralyze the entire economic life of the com-

munity with the heavy burden of additional taxation.

Practically all our experiments in municipal ownership have at the time of their inception been vigorously opposed by the private companies engaged in serving the community in each particular field. As far back as 1889 when the question of a publicly owned city water system was before the electorate for a decision, Mr. Moran, then mayor of Seattle, writes: "It goes without saying that the private water companies made the utmost use of the press and courts to discredit and prevent the carrying out of the plans."⁷ And what is more, a number of the leading citizens of the community took the pains to write signed articles in the daily press decrying against the spasm of social insanity that was taking hold of the people, beguiling them into the belief that a publicly owned water system was feasible. But today even the *Times*, our most vigorous opponent of municipal ownership in general, admits that our publicly owned water plant is a success. And doubtless many of the reputable citizens who so strenuously opposed the inauguration of the system now dilate with gusto upon its merits to our summer tourists and visitors.

Again about 1902 when the city was contemplating the installation of its own light and power plant the private companies then serving the city with light and power did their utmost to forestall the undertaking at every turn. Nor have they relaxed their effort even up to the present time; but by subtle and indirect methods they attempt to discredit in the eyes of the people this eminently successful enterprise.

Private interests, however, in the pursuit of their own ends may encourage rather than oppose municipal ownership. For instance in 1913 an initiative measure was placed before the electorate to ratify bond issues amounting to \$450,000 for the purpose of extending the public market on Pike Street. At the instigation of the Municipal League and other civic organizations, the mayor appointed an investigating committee to look into the source of the measure and to ascertain the feasibility of the enterprise. The committee discovered that the proposition was initi-

ated and promoted by certain large private interests whose places of business and property lay adjacent to the land authorized to be purchased by the bond issues before the public for ratification. Through the press the committee issued a public statement that the originators of the proposition, the private market interests doing business on Pike Street, were attempting to take advantage of the predisposition on the part of the public in favor of municipal ownership in order to enhance the value of their own private properties and real estate possessions. When the facts were made public the proposition was denounced by all the leading newspapers and civic organizations with the result that the measure was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls. Subsequently, however, in 1919, when further bond issues for public market extension were before the electorate for ratification, the retail butchers' and grocers' associations of the city opposed them by paid advertisements in the daily press.

The purchase of the street railway by the city is an interesting example of a privately owned utility passing into public possession without any apparent opposition on the part of private capital. At the November election in 1918 when the question of the purchase of the railway was submitted to the people for an advisory vote, not a paper nor an organization in the city publicly opposed the purchase, with the result that, although the vote was light, the measure passed with a majority of over 3 to 1. Nor was the proposition favored by one class more than another. Every precinct in the city, with one exception, voted a majority in favor of the purchase. Precincts in the highest economic regions of the city showed just as high a majority for municipal ownership as did the precincts in the most radical labor sections. The explanation of this unusual psychology must be sought in the conditions of the time. The acute transportation problem growing out of war conditions together with the general disposition on the part of the public to follow with docility the advice of authorities made the people accept without question a proposal which let a financially embarrassed company out of a predicament and at the same time furnished the city hall with a tentative solution to a harassing municipal problem.

⁷ John Lamb, *The Seattle Municipal Water Plant*, 1914, p. 25.

The Work of Women's Organizations

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE BOARD OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS OF ST. LOUIS

A CO-OPERATIVE VENTURE OF WOMEN'S GROUPS IN SOCIAL SERVICE

GEORGE B. MANGOLD

DURING THE WAR the women of the Protestant, Jewish and Catholic bodies in St. Louis coöperated in their efforts to help win the world war. An excellent organization was built up and when the armistice was signed, many women wondered what would become of this organization. It was their hope to have it continue and to hold the women who had given so much of their time and of their energy in a volunteer way. Eventually the Catholic group withdrew, but the remainder decided to carry on the organization. At a preliminary meeting, where more than 500 women gathered, a general program of social service was suggested. The idea was enthusiastically received and the organization was gradually put in shape. According to the constitution the aim of the Board of Religious Organizations, the name assumed by the new organization, is as follows:

"The aim of this association shall be to stimulate the activities of the various religious organizations and their members, to coördinate their work and to unify their efforts in behalf of a better city and the community welfare.

"The association shall stand solely for the spirit of service and coöperation. Creed and doctrine shall play no part in its management or its work."

Thus was launched an organization which is probably unique among the social service organizations of this country. Perhaps it is the first endeavor on the part of religious bodies to put their volunteer social service on a systematic basis. The cry for the volunteer has been loud and long, but few serious efforts have been made to make it possible for the volunteer to function consistently and successfully; and yet on the volunteer depends, to a very large extent, the gen-

eral direction of our progress and our welfare work.

The Board of Religious Organizations organized what were called denominational units. These units represented the various denominations and each had at its head a chairman and appropriate officials. Departments of work were then organized and the denominational units were represented in these departments. The departments carry on the actual work of the organization with the exception of that which is done by various committees that must be appointed from time to time for special purposes. There are, however, a number of standing committees dealing with financial and other phases of the work of the organization. The program of work of the various departments covers the following fields: Americanization, child welfare, community service, family welfare, institutions, protection and delinquency, publication, social hygiene, and social legislation.

Some of these departments have necessarily been more active than others. Some forms of social service are more compelling at the time and must be attended to before others receive serious consideration. Immediately after the war the term "Americanization" became popular and what was called Americanization work also became popular. The Board of Religious Organizations has constantly endeavored to do what volunteer women are able, along the lines of so-called Americanization work. Their efforts have been confined largely to service in behalf of the foreign woman. Accordingly hundreds of women have enrolled in short training courses and have afterwards volunteered to teach English in their homes and to serve as friendly visitors and in

other capacities. The contacts that have been made have proved helpful not only to the foreign women and their families, but to the many benighted Americans who had no idea of the problems which our immigrants face or the conditions under which they are living.

There is a field of friendly visiting in connection with the welfare organizations of the city. Again short courses of instruction have been given and women utilized in a great variety of ways. A list was made of "things the volunteer can do" and efforts have been made to tie up as many volunteers as could be obtained with the various social service organizations of the city. In a large number of instances also the women have functioned directly through the Board of Religious Organizations. The contact with poverty, with disease, with bad housing, with the misery of dependent and neglected children means an impetus to preventive and constructive work.

One department deals with institutions. Societies in the churches were prevailed upon to sew and to perform other types of service for institutions. Women were procured to visit the sick or the lonely, to bring books and pictures and to serve in other ways.

The work in the courts and with the pre-delinquent woman has been a very important part of the general program. The board has its representative in some of the local courts. This individual has an office in the City Hall; cases of various kinds are referred to her and she in addition discovers many independently. There is also a group of women who visit the courts and who are trying to understand what they are doing or attempting to do. Other women give service to the unhappy and unfortunate girl or woman referred to the organization. It is well known that the volunteer woman cannot ordinarily deal with a serious offender. As a consequence the Board of Religious Organizations confines its efforts largely to the preventive aspects of the problem, and the few serious cases taken are handled by the trained social worker connected with the organization.

One of the most important committees deals with social legislation. One of our universal tragedies is the lack of effective social legislation and the constant menace of un-social legislation. It becomes necessary to defend the one and to fight the other. This committee has done excel-

lent work at Jefferson City in behalf of child welfare measures, the establishment of a Court of Domestic Relations and similar laws. It was forced to use its powers to the utmost to help defeat certain bills that jeopardized the public schools of St. Louis, the primary system and the weakening of laws already on the statute books.

The service of this committee has been required in behalf of municipal legislation. Soon after the beginning of the organization, its influence was recognized and city officials turned to it for aid. Perhaps no organization has entered the field of social legislation with so immediate a recognition of the influence that it wields.

A few things are being done in the field of child welfare, but the service here is comparatively limited. Much of that which is done for children is done after all in connection with the work of other departments. The work in mother craft and the school luncheon service are the chief contributions made by this department.

The work in social hygiene at present is largely limited to lectures and discussion. The time is not yet ripe for a more thorough-going program.

The Board of Religious Organizations publishes a magazine called "Women at Work." This magazine is issued monthly and several thousand copies are passed regularly into the hands of the women of the city. It educates them in social and civic affairs and enables them to appreciate more fully the service that the Board of Religious Organizations performs. The social service advisor writes an editorial for each number and in this way attempts to bring a message to these women—a message that, it is hoped, will strengthen the desire of the women for constructive social service. Some of the articles deal with the practical problems and needs of the city, while others are accounts of the work that is being done.

A wider use should be made of church buildings and church organizations. To stimulate this need is not an easy task, in that it may often conflict with the wishes of the pastor or leading members of a church. The Board, therefore, proceeds cautiously, but nevertheless proceeds. The less important things can be done with little opposition but the time will come when a greater demand will be made. Then the Board may have a conflict on its hands. But its program is right and, therefore, it must go ahead.

Although the Board of Religious Organizations is stimulating volunteer service among church

women, it cannot do this without a trained force of its own. As a consequence it has employed under its general secretary a group of socially trained women. It is the plan eventually to have at least one worker for each department, but at present several of the departments are under the direction of a single worker. This worker has general charge of the departmental activities, but is ably assisted by the chairman of the departmental committee. A plan such as this usually works better in theory than in practice. There

is much up hill work before the organization but it is believed that the policy is sound and that eventually its program will become increasingly successful. Some of its work is at times less effective than it should be, some of it has been strikingly efficient, but all of the while it is moving on, strengthening its departments and making a bigger and bigger place for itself in the social work of the community. Best of all it is enlisting the volunteer for efficient social service.

THE NORTH CAROLINA LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

MARY O. COWPER

THE NORTH Carolina League of Women Voters is devoting its energies chiefly to three important tasks. First, it is coöperating in the campaign of the National League to get at least seventy-five per cent of the eligible voters to vote in the next election. Since only forty-nine per cent used the ballot at the last presidential election, and many less than that at the following ones, it is seen that through our failure to fulfill the primary duty of a citizen, we have let the country be governed by the minority. Through the press, by meetings and in every other way possible, the "Get Out the Vote" campaign will be carried on.

In response to a request from Mrs. Kate Burr Johnson, Commissioner of Public Welfare, the League, with the assistance of the Federation of Women's Clubs, is directing a study of the Juvenile Courts of North Carolina. A committee will be appointed in every county of the state and through the use of the booklet and questionnaire issued by the Board of Public Welfare, important information will be gathered and, it is hoped, much good will result. The third piece of work

of the League is a study of the conditions of women in industry. The Child Welfare Commission has arranged to give information that it has now and will obtain, to members of the League and of the Federation of Women's Clubs, and by means of proper publicity and the consequent forming of public opinion, some changes in improvable conditions may be expected.

The League publishes a monthly bulletin which presents brief discussions of the most important political questions of the day. During the legislative session, the bulletin will appear weekly, so that its readers may keep up with bills of special interest to the League. In general, the North Carolina League tries to carry out in this state the program adopted by the National, which is "to promote education in citizenship, efficiency in government, needed legislation, and international coöperation to prevent war." The committees which carry out the program are those on: 1. Child Welfare. 2. Education.. 3. Living Costs. 4. Social Hygiene. 5. Uniform Laws Concerning Women. 6. Women in Industry.

The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES

Editorial Notes

Woodrow Wilson: A Memorial Note

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON

This is scarcely a time for an attempt at any final appraisal of Woodrow Wilson or his work. We are too near to him, too close to the stormy end of his public life to pass a final judgment upon him or his place in history. History itself will in due course do that. But it is, nevertheless, an eminently fitting occasion for visualizing him clearly and not blind to his faults—for intensely and vividly human as he was, he had faults,—but keen-eyed to his virtues, to seek to define in simple fashion the things for which his name stands, to clarify our thinking both as to him and as to the contribution he made to the thought and life of the world.

One of the miracles of human history is that constantly recurring one by which strong men, fit men, are on hand to inspire, to lead, and to guide great movements of progress and betterment. Often these miracles seem mere coincidences, happy accidents, which, interposing, prevent disaster. But they have occurred too often for this to be the case. Following some great law as yet unperceived by our finite minds, they are manifestations of that beneficent Providence which directs the destiny of men.

Woodrow Wilson is an example of this interposition of Providence. The world wondered that an inexperienced "schoolmaster" could become a national leader. And yet as we look back over the years before his entrance to public life it is clear that through them all he was training and fitting himself for this great task as systematically and thoroughly as if he were conscious of what lay before him. Those years furnish a record of consistent development, and of the growth of settled convictions as to public policy which were to shape and mould his whole public career. And the most striking feature of it all was the fact that he never ceased to grow, never

became static in his thinking, never allowed his "single-track mind," as he described it, to narrow his vision of his ultimate destination even if at times it limited his modes of approach, but always looked forward to the discovery of the new truths and the achievement of the new aims which carry civilization onward. Forward-looking was an apt description of himself.

His later career was consistent in another respect. It was a continuous struggle, growing ever in intensity, for the people, for the individual. Jefferson himself had no stronger convictions on the subject. He was hostile to the old order wherever it hampered the freedom and equality of opportunity of men. As President of Princeton he fought against heavy odds for democracy, and his transfer to the governorship of New Jersey simply broadened the field and enlarged the scope of the battle he waged. The same conviction, now a passion, shaped his policy as President of the United States in relation both to domestic affairs and international relations. All he did, all he sought to do, was for the benefit of mankind.

A passion for humanity is of itself a notable thing. Few, comparatively, are given it and fewer still develop it. It is the distinguishing characteristic of those to whom the world has accorded its greatest affection and to whom men have done homage most gladly. It marked Woodrow Wilson's great predecessors, Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, and gave to them a place in the hearts of Americans hitherto all their own. But democracies hold fast to the doctrine that faith without works is dead, and to be elevated to the shrine of a people's undying gratitude and memory no mere passion for an idea will suffice. The passion must be translated into action, the ideals must be made practical if the attention of the mass of men is to be caught and held.

It has been often said of Woodrow Wilson that he was an idealist. It was, we may, in all reverence, thank God, a true accusation. Every truly great man is an idealist. The final test of greatness applied by man is in terms established by that purest idealist, the great Master of Men. By His standards we measure a Socrates, or a Lincoln. But, too often in the case of Mr. Wilson there has been an utter failure to take into account the fact that he translated much of his ideal into practice, that in the realm of practical ac-

complishment he is entitled to a high place, that he was a man of action as well as a man of thought. With him ideal and practice went hand in hand. Just as his religion was a thing for use every day and hour of his life, and not for Sunday alone, his ideals were meant for practical everyday application and not for lip service on special occasions.

Coming to the Presidency with the firm conviction that his office included not merely the functions of Chief Executive, but also that of Premier in respect to the leadership of his party, Mr. Wilson boldly and confidently assumed direction of the legislative program to which his party was pledged. For this reason to him rather than to Congress must be given the credit for the very remarkable body of remedial and constructive proposals which were enacted into law. An opponent said of him that he had almost abolished Congress. If true, at least it found high favor in the sight of the people he served. In point of fact he was merely carrying out his belief that it was his function, as head of his party, to make Congress responsible to the will of the people. That he was able to accomplish what he did as a minority President was due to the striking capacity for leadership that he displayed which enabled him to carry with him for a time the members of his own party in Congress and to an even greater extent the mass of the people whose favor Congress must retain. Always he was stronger with the people than was his party, and in due course of time he won undisputed party leadership. The same power which secured his election as governor of New Jersey, his nomination for President, and which contributed so powerfully to his election served him still. That power was his ability to make articulate the hopes, aspirations and ideals of democracy in simple terms that all could grasp and understand. So freshly and so convincingly did he state them that they acquired new meaning and seemed in a sense to date from him. Nor was this all. The high ideals of the few he made comprehensible and acceptable to the mass of men, and in his statement of them he gave such a clear glimpse of the purity of his passion for genuine democracy as to win from the people their trust and acceptance of him as a leader. The scholar in politics, a liberal who did not shrink from being called a radical, he captured the imagination and the confidence of an

ever increasing number of Americans, not through advertisement but through the power of his ideas and his character.

After 1916, all of his powers, mental and physical, were gradually absorbed by the demands imposed by the war. Even before the tremendous burden of the war was over, the problem of the peace required equal concentration. But before 1916, he was justly regarded as a political wizard whose intellectual contact with the thinking of the country was scarcely surpassed by that master of politics, Abraham Lincoln. He was rapidly becoming in the popular view a political super-man and had human strength been sufficient to enable him to bear the double burden of domestic and international responsibilities the history of recent years might have been a very different thing.

In the foreign relations of his administration was made manifest again the quality of the man. Refusing to give the countenance of the United States to assassination as a method of accession to the presidency in a sister republic, he nevertheless took no account of imperialistic pressure for war upon a weak and desperately harassed people, but sought instead some other method for redress of existing grievances. He took steps to make compensation for a grave wrong inflicted upon Columbia. Dollar diplomacy, so far as he came to know of it, was brought to at least a temporary end, and optimistically, perhaps, he assured the Latin American countries that the United States would never annex one foot of their territory by conquest. By his successful insistence upon the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls he showed his determination that the United States should abide by its plighted word even to its own hindrance. And finally with the adoption of a policy of concluding arbitration treaties with other nations he showed his desire to take some step in the direction of ending war.

The outbreak of the World War turned the attention of the nation away from domestic affairs. Neutral though we were, we were involved in the war from the beginning. It is as evident today as it was to everyone in 1914, that no other official policy than neutrality was possible, but in the modern world actual neutrality is, if not impossible, quite a different thing from what it was a century ago. And still Mr. Wilson hoped against hope that the United States might stand

aside in order that, serving the world as mediator, it might promote a lasting peace. It was not to be and in time he came to see it, but he was determined that when war came to us it must be for a high purpose; not for revenge, not for self-aggrandizement, not even for the sacred right of self-defense alone. And so, resolutely, he bent himself to the task of exhausting every decent and honorable recourse before we entered the struggle. If enter we must, it must be as a last resort and as a united people. There must be no backward glance if once our hand was put to the plough. To have adopted any other policy would have been as unwise as to rely on a volunteer army when once we entered the war. And so despite the impatience and abuse of those less restrained and less far-sighted than himself, he followed the course pointed out by his conscience as well as by his intellect, a course which, as was clearly evident when at last we were in the war, made our position immeasurably stronger, physically and morally.

Once in the struggle there was from the President no wavering and no backward glance. He threw himself into the winning of victory with all his powers. He was a commander-in-chief in fact as well as in name. His practical achievements as war President and commander-in-chief were highly notable and in spite of a flood of criticism our war effort set a new standard in the military history of democratic countries. His example, his appeals, and his matchless leadership, nerved his countrymen to ever greater efforts in behalf of a noble cause.

But these were not the outstanding facts of his part in the war. He became himself the man he wished for in an address on Robert E. Lee at the University of North Carolina in 1909, "whose tongue might every day carry abroad the golden accents of that creative age in which we were born a nation; accents which would ring like tones of reassurance around the whole circle of the globe, so that America might again have the distinction of showing men the way, the certain way, of achievement and confident hope." He speedily, as a matter of course, and with the sincere and enthusiastic approval of the allied governments, came to be the spokesman of the liberal forces of the world. As such he fused the very widely varying aims of the war into one essentially demo-

cratic and American ideal. The Allies not only followed him but accepted his moral and spiritual leadership with marvelous enthusiasm. He restored broken and failing purposes and a lost morale. He brought a constructive and a moral aim to the warring world, and furnished a new faith and a new hope to those weary and worn with the horrors and the agony of war. He first enunciated the larger aims for which the war was fought and did so in terms that all could understand. John Drinkwater thus phrased it: "Mr. Wilson brought to the world at a moment when it was tired and exhausted, a very simple word, a word so simple that when it was uttered, it seemed almost inconceivable to everybody that it should have been necessary to say it." These "mere words" of Mr. Wilson not only clarified the issues, restored broken morale in England and France and inspired America for the conflict. They did all these things but they did far more. They drove a wedge between rulers and people in Germany, aided powerfully in the detachment of Austria, and contributed largely to the sudden collapse of the Central Powers. They were practical in their effects as well as idealistic in their character.

Throughout the war Mr. Wilson looked beyond to the peace. Over the ruins of war he had a clear vision of a new and different world. He, therefore, set about the statement, restatement, and reiteration of the higher purposes of mankind with the hope that sufficient moral enthusiasm would be created or aroused to carry men forward to the achievement of a worthy peace and an enduring one. He was the first spokesman of a great power to insist that the existing war must end war. And in this as in his statement of other war aims he was able to give to the mass of men a new vision and a new goal and to find them responsive to his appeal to their higher natures. They enthusiastically, fervently, accepted his leadership. His Fourteen Points became the basis on which peace was sought by the Allies and the Central Powers and were as well, however imperfectly they were there realized, the foundation of the Treaty of Versailles.

There was an obvious contrast here which all the world saw. On one hand was William II, the war lord of Europe, relying upon the power of sheer might to reshape the world territorially; on

the other the peace-loving head of a great republic relying upon the power of right to reshape the world morally and spiritually.

As prophet of a new day he won the passionate veneration of the weary and oppressed masses of the world. As General Smuts aptly stated it, "To no human being in all history did the hopes, the prayers, the aspirations of so many millions turn with such poignant intensity as to him at the close of the war. At a time of deepest darkness and despair, he had raised aloft a light to which all eyes had turned. He had spoken divine words of healing and consolation to a broken humanity. His lofty moral idealism seemed for a moment to dominate the brutal passions which had torn the old world asunder. And he was supposed to possess the secret which would remake the world on fairer lines."

The universal but vague hopes of a great moral peace followed by a new world order were not mere superficial sentiment but rather the expression of the spiritual force which had enabled the people of the warring countries to endure the long years of agony. Small wonder that peasants burned candles before the picture of this leader who was the prophet of a new redemption of mankind and ascribed to him powers that did not fall short of being divine! Small wonder, too, that, when their confident expectations were not realized, they felt betrayed. They *were* betrayed, but not by Woodrow Wilson.

This is not the place for the story of the Peace Conference. If Wilson failed it was not his failure so much as that of humanity. If the peace was bad, as we are so often told, it was far better than those which had preceded it. It was on a new basis, at least. And no small part of the credit for this feature of it must be ascribed to Woodrow Wilson who, there in Paris, "faced the Beasts at Ephesus." And who will say that if the League survives it was a bad peace? Pronounced dead by a host of enemies including a President of the United States, it still endures and functions without the aid of America. Condemned as idealistic, it is a practical plan of world organization for peace, and it may in time prove to be in the words of General Smuts, "the child that shall lead" the nations of the world to peace and righteousness. And the League is indisputably the achievement of Woodrow Wilson. Surviving it will be his monument. Dying it will

still bear witness to the faith of a great leader who saw beyond his age, the world will be richer for the vision of hope he gave it, and its resurrection will assuredly follow the close of the next great war.

From the heights of world greatness, heights no other mortal has ever reached, he felt because the American people made him a scapegoat for the sins of a world. When all others had seemingly forgotten, he remembered the agony of the war, its ruinous destruction of property acquired by the sweat of laboring generations, the suffering of those who lived on and the wanton sacrifice of those who died. And willingly he offered his life to prevent its recurrence.

Yes, he fell, but in his fall he showed the world how a brave man may meet defeat, and displayed a quiet courage which does not suffer by comparison with that of the defeated Lee. He showed, too, the strength of a great faith in the ultimate triumph of right. And, after all, who shall say that he fell from the highest heights he attained? He fell in popular esteem undoubtedly, but in moral greatness not at all. Martyrdom was his lot, but he chose it gladly for the cause he served. Now he belongs to the long list of prophets who have died, stoned or crucified for the faith that was in them by those they would have saved.

He was perhaps not so fortunate as Abraham Lincoln who died in the hour of triumph and thus escaped much of the flood of foul slander and abuse, the cruel misunderstanding, the persistent misrepresentation, which it would have been his fate to endure. For thus we Americans have rewarded our great Presidents without exception. And yet it must have meant comfort inexpressible to Mr. Wilson, after it all, to live to see among the people of the United States signs of recovery from the sordid and materialistic reaction which followed on the war. Increasing evidence of the love and trust of the people must have gone far to obliterate the memory of venomous partisan malice which, apart from sincere opposition to the League of Nations, was not stayed even in the midst of mortal illness. Doubtless, too, for the majority of people who reviled him he had always been able to pray, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do," and as for the others he knew well that

the ultimate judgment of him will not be made on the basis of partisanship, but will be formed in the minds and hearts of the mass of Americans. And in the course of time they will estimate him aright. The people are never deceived permanently. Abraham Lincoln knew it. Woodrow Wilson knew it.

In the three years of illness and retirement the faith and courage that have upheld him may worthily serve as an inspiration to all Americans.

He was quiet, uncomplaining, and withdrawn from the passions of public affairs. He asked nothing for himself but only that his country should not lose the vision he pointed out to it when he led it forth to find its soul. What mattered it to him if like Moses of old he was denied the Promised Land if only his countrymen would catch the torch as it fell from his dying hand, in order that they might in their turn hold it high to lighten a darkened world?

Library and Work Shop

Book Reviews directed by
HARRY ELMER BARNES and
FRANK H. HANKINS.

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FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO MIND IN THE MAKING

HARRY ELMER BARNES

SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION. Edited by F. S. Marvin.
New York: Oxford University Press, 1923, 350 pp.
\$4.20.

THE FREEDOM OF THE MIND IN HISTORY. By Henry
Osborn Taylor. New York: Macmillan, 1923, xii, 297
pp. \$2.25.

AN INTRODUCTION TO REFLECTIVE THINKING. By Colum-
bia Associates in Philosophy. Boston: Houghton Mif-
flin, 1923, 351 pp. \$2.00.

THE HUMANIZING OF KNOWLEDGE. By James Harvey
Robinson. New York: Doran, 1923, xii, 119 pp. \$1.50.

SCIENCE REMAKING THE WORLD. By Otis W. Caldwell
and Edwin E. Slosson. New York: Doubleday, Page,
1923, xii, 292 pp. \$2.25.

THE EDITOR of *Science and Civilization* is unquestionably the nearest English analogue of James Harvey Robinson. By profession an educational expert rather than an historian, he has done more than any other of his

countrymen to arouse an interest in the "new history" in England. Still more, he has written two extremely stimulating books on the intellectual history of Europe, *The Living Past* and *The Century of Hope*, which would serve admirably as a factual supplement to Robinson's *Mind in the Making* and *The Humanizing of Knowledge*. Even more important, he organized the Unity History Schools, and has edited the papers there delivered under the title of *The Unity Series*, in which this volume is the latest to make its appearance—the sixth in the list. No one would be likely to question the assertion that the volumes of this series constitute by far the most substantial and conspicuous English effort to envisage the problems of the intellectual and cultural history of Europe and set forth the salient facts regarding it. And the whole series has been remarkably free from the usual insularity of Eng-

lish historical products. It has been Mr. Marvin's aim to stress the unity of western history rather than the element of national pretensions. The series should have done something to promote historical thinking along broadly international lines—an objective towards which the fourth and fifth volumes of the series were specifically directed.

The present volume consists of a general history of European science, with particular reference to its influence upon the course of human development. The topics covered are The Beginnings of Science by J. L. Myres, Ancient Medicine by Charles Singer, Biological and Geological Knowledge in Antiquity by Arthur Platt, Greek Mathematics and Astronomy by J. L. E. Dreyer, The Dark Ages and the Dawn by Charles Singer, The First Physical Synthesis (that of Galileo) by A. N. Whitehead, Science in the Industrial Revolution by Cecil H. Desch, The Influence of Darwinism on Life and Thought by J. Arthur Thompson, Science and Education by A. E. Heath, Science and Health by F. G. Crookshank, Science and Religion by Julian S. Huxley, and Science and Human Affairs by F. S. Marvin. While not intended as a systematic and sequential history of science, it is certainly one of the best single volume treatises on the subject in our language, and far the best brief effort to show the relation of the history of science to the development of civilization. Unquestionably the most original and valuable chapters are those on primitive science, the scientific basis of the industrial revolution, and science and medicine. The most erudite one is the long chapter on medieval science by Dr. Singer, which is modern and accurate in fact and interpretation, save for the rather old-fashioned eulogy of the uniqueness of Roger Bacon, which might have been corrected by recourse to the writings of Lynn Thorndike. All in all, the book may be recommended with enthusiasm to all students of human society interested in the gradual divorcement of the human mind from supernaturalism and mysticism, and the resulting changes in human institutions and social processes. To many it may seem a more convincing account of the operation of God in history than the mystical and pietistic interpretation of Mr. Taylor.

The second of these books consists of the publication of a series of lectures delivered in

1920 at Leland Stanford University by the well-known author of *Ancient Ideals*, *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, *The Medieval Mind*, and *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*. A lawyer by profession and training, Mr. Taylor has been one of our most productive and erudite contributors to the field of intellectual history. In all of Mr. Taylor's works two tendencies have been prominent, the scholarly and the mystical. The most evident dominance of the scholarly doubtless appeared in the *Classical Heritage*, while in the present work the mystical is unquestionably ascendant, in some cases almost to the exclusion of the historical. The book is not quite accurately named. It is in no sense an attempt to achieve the task which Mr. Bury set for himself, namely, to trace the gradual evolution of the freedom of thought and opinion in the history of western civilization. It is rather distinctly an effort after the fashion of Hegel, Kidd or Croce to execute a spiritual interpretation of history, involving an attempt to sustain the thesis of the greatness and goodness of God, and to discover evidence in the history of European culture favorable to the notion of the divine guidance of man. In fact it might be regarded as an historian's addendum to the *Bridgewater Treatises*. The following citations adequately summarize his hypothesis and indicate his mode of approach to the survey of the intellectual history of Europe:

Men's best hopes and aspirations have paralleled their conception of the divine. Men have striven as they have conceived God to have led them. And still for a conception of the universe the hypothesis of God is better than any no-hypothesis of no-God. The thought of God arises from the convergence of our intellectual needs and noblest human impulses. We may not throw aside our furthest spiritual insinuations. So we turn to God who is mind and love, whether He be the same as the God of natural law or quite another. Him we conceive to act with that freedom of choice and discrimination which we cannot dissociate from the functioning of mind. We conceive God to act upon the minds and moods of men as spirit addressing itself to spirit; for men are capable of being thus acted on, and moved and drawn, perhaps to think and will as the Divine Spirit thinks and wills. Freedom of mind is of the essence of the action of God, and also of the essence of the human response, acceptant or recalcitrant. Here there is no coercion. The man is free to accept or reject the grace of God.

Nevertheless, God's proffered inspiration or guidance and man's acceptance or rejection, although free, are not exempted from the law of consequences. Inevitably the

human spirit is raised or lowered by its acceptance or refusal, as in its heightened or blunted power of further response. . . . We may conceive our God as righteous in his nature, and through the very working of his nature making for good. . . . As in one's own life one may gratefully recognize divine promptings and the leading care of God, so one may find in history the impulse of divine inspiration, as well as a universal plan and a divine standard and providence. I cannot regard the human story, and the whole unending growth and sloughing off of thought and temper, as a driven sequence of generating conditions and unavoidable result. I cannot think it so simply or so brutally. . . . It seems permeated with arbitrary freedom; and its regularity or certainty of sequence is impinged upon and often foiled by the aberrations of human whim, if not by some incomprehensible power. . . . And I feel it safer to assume the constant or occasional participation of unfathomable elements—the animating and inspiring providence of God, the potent waywardness of human genius.

As a confession of philosophic and theological faith, this may be subjectively valid and satisfying to Mr. Taylor, but it is a dubious and treacherous foundation for a survey of intellectual history. With this as his background and working hypothesis, however, he sketches in an Hegelian manner the "freeing of the spirit," as evidenced in political evolution, the growth of philosophy and science, religious history and reform, and the development of art and literature. The result is a strange mixture of fact and fancy. When he is not particularly interested in proving his thesis, he includes much keen analysis and lucid exposition of intellectual development, but, for the most part, situations have to be interpreted to conform to his assumptions. His exegetical and interpretative powers, when under stress of dire necessity, may be measured by his efforts to glorify the Calvinistic theocracy of Geneva, with its paralyzing bigotry, intolerance, sumptuary legislation and its inquisitorial meddling with personal belief and conduct, strongly suggestive of the Ku Klux Klan in contemporary America, as well as by his discovering in Luther and Calvin men whose attitudes "mark a stage in the progress of intellectual liberty and civic freedom," and whose minds acted "with efficient freedom."

Mr. Taylor concludes his survey in an optimistic and triumphant air; he brings forth from his sleeve the rabbit which he placed there in the first chapter:

God exists; we may be sure of him as ever; it is only the rational proofs of God that change and lose their validity. The sense of the divine, the strength and com-

fort of belief in God, may still be the grandest verity of human life; may still assure us that here and forever all things shall never cease to work together for good in them that love God, who rest in the sure harmony of relationship with the divine and omniscient and omnipotent love. . . . Human progress still points onward through the action of the free intelligence, the righteously resolving will, and the ever more enlightened love of God and man. . . . Through many conflicts and in many ways, but always in the way of freedom, the human soul has been emerging, and has been gathering, as it were, affinity to God, in whom lies its immortality.

Like the story of Santa Claus, this would be nice if true, but it seems quite evident that Mr. Taylor has lost a remarkable opportunity to provide a concise and illuminating sketch of the intellectual history of western society, a task for which he has evident talent and adequate information, in order that he might follow the precedent of Bossuet in utilizing history to illustrate a sermon.

Of a far different type is the suggestive introduction to philosophy brought out by the group of brilliant young disciples of John Dewey at Columbia college. After an admirable introductory chapter, founded on the psychology and epistemology of Dewey, treating of thought processes and critical reflection, the book deals in an original and concrete way with the methods and procedure involved in the diagnosis of a situation or problem, the nature of hypotheses in science, the methodology of experimental science, the functions of deductive elaboration and explanation as illustrated by mathematics and physics, the implications of the evolutionary doctrine, historical criticism as illustrated by the critical analysis of the dates and authorship of the books of the Pentateuch, the problem of values and decisions, and the nature and scope of reflective thinking in law and ethics. Written from the standpoint of an up-to-date psychology and a progressive philosophical outlook and holding as far as possible to concrete illustrative material the volume is bound to be provocative of stimulating discussions in the class-room, and constitutes excellent introduction to the scientific view of the world and man. When taught from the point of view and framework provided in this volume, it is apparent that philosophy has broken from its moorings in the sterility of transcendentalism and the Kantian *Ethik* and epistemology, and may well prove both the *alpha* and the *omega* of a well-rounded intellectual training and discipline.

James Harvey Robinson's new book is the logical sequel to his remarkably successful and widely-read *Mind in the Making*. In the earlier work he traced the evolution of our contemporary modes of thinking, indicating the historical basis for the mental patterns of contemporaries, so far separated as Calvin Coolidge and William J. Bryan, on the one hand, and John Dewey and Thorstein Veblen, on the other. Some critics felt, however, that he had left his task incomplete, as he had not offered any very definite suggestions as to how we might escape from the stupidities which encompass us in Lusking, Sumnerizing and Ku Kluxing. The *Humanizing of Knowledge* is the answer to this challenge.

Professor Robinson's argument may be briefly summarized in the following manner. There has been a general indifference to the scientific point of view through the ages, so that even today the more intelligent citizens are still dominated in their thinking by the attitudes and methods of the mystic, poet, rhetorician or shaman. The revolutionary scientific advances of the last three hundred years have, in their deeper implications, scarcely affected the thinking of mankind at large. This has been due in the main to the fact that science has tended to develop in an esoteric and detached fashion, in part necessitated by the need for self-protection. It has also tended towards excessive specialization and departmentalization, which has often resulted in amazing ignorance on the part of scientists of material outside of their own subjects, and in such abstruseness in scientific writing that even the average college graduate who is not a specialist could find little which is intelligible in such works. The great need of the future is not to render less effective and notable scientific specialization, research and discovery, but to accompany this process by an intelligent and persistent effort to make available for the intellectual class the general implications of scientific discovery in every field, and to produce something like a general tendency towards critical and "reflective thinking." Eventually this may possibly be achieved by a rational integration and reconstruction of our educational institutions and curriculum, but for the time being it may be most effectively advanced by the compilation of books of sufficient clarity and brevity to commend themselves to the intelligent general reader. The alacrity with which this class took up Mr. Wells'

Outline of History indicates that readers would not be lacking for competent books of this sort and offers some hope that if enough such books were available many of those now on the side of Mr. Bryan would come to line up behind men like Professor Robinson. Until something like the same degree of objectivity can be produced in the social sciences that exists in regard to natural science, we are likely to continue with our common-sense and rule-of-thumb methods in economics, politics, and modes of social conduct, a procedure which is becoming yearly more dangerous and menacing with the increasing complexity of modern life. If this is an impossible aspiration, then the "jig is up" with the human race. The following citations sum up fairly adequately his thesis and positive program:

Modern scientific research, in spite of its professed aloofness and disregard of human feelings and motives, has succeeded in unfolding to our gaze so new a world in its origin, development, workings and possibilities of control in the interests of human welfare, that practically all of the older poetic and religious ideas have to be fundamentally revised or reinterpreted.

Scientific knowledge, ingeniously applied and utilized by inventors and engineers has, with the assistance of business men and financiers, metamorphosed our environment and our relations with our fellow men.

Lastly, our notions of our own nature are being so altered that should we discreetly apply our increasing knowledge of the workings of the mind and the feelings, a far more successful technique might finally emerge for the regulation of the emotions than any that has hitherto been suggested. This is at least an exhilarating hope.

Now if all this be true we are forced to ask whether it is safe, since our life has come to be so profoundly affected by and dependent on scientific knowledge, to permit the great mass of mankind and their leaders and teachers to continue to operate on the basis of presuppositions and prejudices which owe their respectability and currency to their great age and uncritical character, and which fail to correspond with real things and actual operations as they are coming to be understood.

A great part of our beliefs about man's nature and the rightness or wrongness of his acts, date from a time when far less was known of the universe and far different were the conditions and problems of life from those of today.

Do we not urgently need a new type of wonderer and pointer-out, whose curiosity shall be excited by this strange and perturbing emergency in which we find ourselves, and who shall set himself to discover and indicate to his busy and timid fellow creatures a possible way out? Otherwise how is a race so indifferent and even hostile to scientific and historical knowledge of the preciser sort—so susceptible to beliefs that make other and more potent appeals than truth—to be reconciled to

stronger drafts of medicinal information which their disease demands but their palates reject? . . .

We should have a dynamic education to fit a dynamic world. The world should not be presented to students as happily standardized but as urgently demanding readjustment. How are they to be more intelligent than their predecessors if they are trained to an utterly unscientific confidence in ancient notions, let us say of religion, race, heredity and sex, now being so fundamentally revised. . . .

The problem has apparently two phases. One, how is human knowledge to be so ordered and presented in school and college as to produce permanent effects and an attitude of mind appropriate to our time and its perplexities; the other, how is knowledge to be popularized and spread abroad among adults who have become dissatisfied with what they know and are eager to learn more. . . .

We need, therefore, a new class of writers and teachers, of which there are already some examples, who are fully aware of what has been said here and who see that the dissipation of knowledge should be offset by an integration, novel and ingenious, and necessarily tentative and provisional. They should undertake the conscious adventure of humanizing knowledge. There are minds of the requisite temper, training and literary tact. They must be hunted out, encouraged and brought together in an effective if informal conspiracy to promote the diffusion of the best knowledge we have of man and his world. They should have been researchers at some period of their lives, and should continue to be researchers in another sense. Their efforts would no longer be confined to increasing knowledge in detail but in seeking to discover new patterns of what is already known or in the way to get known.

They should be re-assorters, selectors, combiners and illuminators. They should have a passion for diffusing, by divesting knowledge as far as possible of its abstract and professional character. At present there is a woeful ignorance even among persons who pass for intelligent, earnest and well read, in regard to highly important matters that are perfectly susceptible of clear general statement.

The reassorters and humanizers should combine a knowledge of the exigencies of scientific research with a philosophic outlook, human sympathy, and a species of missionary ardor. Each of them should have professional familiarity with some special field of knowledge, but this should have come to seem to him but a subordinate feature of the magnificent scientific landscape.

Opinions will naturally differ as to the feasibility and practicality of Professor Robinson's scheme, but it is the reviewer's firm conviction that there is no other promising or possible way out of our present intolerable and perplexing impasse, though of course the writing of clear books setting forth the new knowledge is but a phase of the program, which would need to be supplemented by such effective assaults upon the con-

ventionally accepted standards as are being launched by Shaw and Mr. Mencken and his followers, and such fact-finding and disseminating organizations as are suggested by Mr. Lippman in his *Public Opinion*.

Two prevailing misconceptions concerning Professor Robinson's plan need, perhaps, to be dissipated. One is the notion that he hopes to make all of this new scientific knowledge available to the masses, so that the day-laborer with an Iq of 70 will divide his time at lunch between a ham sandwich, a clay pipe, and a clarified version of Bergson and an edition of Einstein made easy. Nothing could be further from his meaning or intention. What he does feel is that by such means as he indicates the leaders of present day society, bankers, physicians, merchants, lawyers, and, indeed, most college professors, may come to possess a fairly well integrated intelligence and body of information, which would bring their concepts and attitudes out of the pre-Victorian era into the twentieth century. It is the opinions of such that are of directive significance and most need reconstruction. The average elder in the First Baptist Church of Podunk may safely be trusted to continue to believe in the Mosaic authorship of the pentateuch and the necessity and beneficence of the protective tariff. But even the laboring-classes need not remain in quite the same abysmal ignorance of the newer knowledge, as is evidenced by the literary tastes and consumption of the English laborers. The second mistake consists in the absurd notion that Professor Robinson would debase scientific effort by introducing into it the prejudices of the average man on the street. He would be the furthest of all men from any such proposal. To him the *humanizing* of science is not the injection of the frailties and prejudices of the average *homo sapiens* into the laboratory, but the attempt to put at the disposal of the largest possible number the revolutionary discoveries of the laboratory scientist who keeps himself as free as he may from every kind of human bias and disturbing interest.

Science Remaking the World is an admirable example of what may be done in the way of carrying out Professor Robinson's notions as to the "humanizing of knowledge" through the clear, dignified and effective popularization of scientific knowledge and achievements. It consists in the publication of a series of lectures given at Teach-

ers College, Columbia University, in 1922. "The purpose of the course was to provide interesting and engaging information about the achievements of modern science. It attempted to give students of all subjects an understanding of certain types of achievements of modern science, to suggest the meaning of science in various aspects of modern life and thought; to indicate the place of science in modern social and industrial relations." The volume is edited by Professor Caldwell of Columbia University, and Dr. E. E. Slosson, who enjoys a well-earned reputation as a most successful popularizer of modern science and technical achievement, and whose *Creative Chemistry* is a marvel of lucidity and compactness in this field. The list of subjects covered include technology,

preventive medicine, the fight against insect plagues, the chemistry of food and metabolism, and the meaning and implications of the evolutionary hypothesis. A number of helpful illustrations are included. No one could read the volume without being convinced of the salutary influence which might be exerted by a general perusal of its contents by the average business and professional man. Yet it is only the initial step towards the ultimate goal of making members of these classes conscious of the fact that some approximation to the scientific and objective method and attitude must be introduced into our approach to, and control of, economic, political and social life. If this proves impossible, we may as well prepare to "eat, drink and be merry."

BIOLOGY AND SOCIAL LIFE

FRANK HAMILTON HANKINS

THE BIOLOGY OF DEATH. By Raymond Pearl. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1922, 275 pp. \$2.50.

INTRODUCTION TO MEDICAL BIOMETRY AND STATISTICS. By Raymond Pearl. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders & Company, 1923, 379 pp. \$5.00.

ESSAYS ON THE DEPOPULATION OF MELANESIA. Edited by W. H. R. Rivers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922, xviii, 116 pp.

ESSAYS OF A BIOLOGIST. By Julian Huxley. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1923, 304 pp. \$2.50.

IF THE progress of science has steadily militated against the belief in personal immortality, it has increasingly favored a belief in an impersonal one. The demonstration of the actual immortality of the protozoans which multiply by fission, has been followed by the work of Dr. Alexis Carrel and others showing the potential immortality of any living tissue apart from the body provided it be kept in proper solutions and that these be changed at suitable intervals. Professor Pearl takes these and many other facts into account as a basis for his theses that: life itself is inherently continuous; that living things are physico-chemical mechanisms; that death is due to physico-chemical changes in the organism, primarily resulting from the differentiation and specialization which accompany the evolution of higher organisms; and that the longevity of a species, and indeed to a great extent of the individual members thereof, is due to inherited constitution. Even in man the germ cells, as Heismann showed,

are potentially immortal, and we should have quite a different outlook on all our human problems if this real and eternally significant form of immortality should displace, as an object of strong religious emotion, the ignorance-perpetuating and superstition-cultivating yearning for ghost-hood.

There are many things in this book of interest to the social worker and the sociologist. There is the demonstration that the maximum span of life is no greater today than in the ancient world; that though modern medicine and sanitation have greatly increased the expectation of life for all ages under sixty or sixty-five they have reduced it for all higher ages. In other words, natural selection worked with greater vigor among the Romans so that the less resistant died earlier than with us, but those of hardy constitution lived on much as at present. For all these the length of life was determined almost solely by hereditary constitution, while for many of those who died earlier an easier environment would have meant a certain prolongation of existence. Modern man may be said to be fitter than ancient because he has made his environment fitter. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this improvement of the environment has dispensed with heredity as the primary factor in the duration of individual life. Pearl shows that longevity in one's ancestry is of much greater weight in insuring a long life than favorable surroundings. In

fact, he might have gone on to say that if the environment were made as nearly perfect as possible, then the length of life would in each case be determined solely by hereditary constitution.

The summaries of Pearsons's contention that from one-half to three-fourths of all deaths are selective, and of Snow's contention that a high infant mortality during the first two years of life is followed in the same group by reduced mortality in subsequent years will not be entirely clear and convincing to most readers. But there can be no doubt that selection is a large factor in mortality; and as stated above, if we should succeed in making the environment perfect all deaths would become selective. No doubt accident, ignorance, neglect and unsanitary surroundings play their part in mortality, especially of infants, but it is no longer adequate to say that because there is a correlation between low wages and high infant mortality, therefore the low wages are the cause of the mortality.

While Professor Pearl's acceptance of the Galton-Pearson doctrine that longevity is fundamentally a matter of inherited constitution seems sound, his thesis that the length of life is inversely proportional to the rate at which the individual gives off energy is far from convincing. The theory that we may live a short and merry life or a long and sober one has some grounding in ancient morals, but it cannot be proven by citing the case of four rats (pp. 212-213) who worked hard in a squirrel cage and died at an average age of ten months less than rats of the same species who did not work. In fact comparison shows that among the four test rats those who lived longest also ran the most miles each month of their existence.

Nor can it be said that Pearl's so-called law of population growth is adequately established by the material here presented. This law holds that the population of a country grows in numbers after the manner of an asymptotic ogive. Pearl presents this as "a first approximation to the true law of population growth" (p. 253). Now it may be true for *Drosophila* living in a highly artificial environment; it might be true of an isolated human group living in a static culture; but in most societies, war, pestilence, migration, science and invention so alter the conditions of growth that the actual trend of numbers is far from smooth. Professor Willcox has shown that

this theory does not apply to France before the nineteenth century (Walter F. Willcox, "Population and the World War," *Jour. of the Amer. Stat. Assn.*, June, 1923). Nor does it apply to the native white stock of New England. But the author's warning that the growth of population both as regards quantity and quality ought to come under as rapid rational control as scientific advance permits will not be questioned by any one who carefully examines the increasing pressure of the world's population on the sources of life's essentials.

The book contains an index and an excellent bibliography.

* * *

This book is exactly what its title indicates, an introduction to the statistical methods which can and should be employed in strictly scientific work relating to medical and biological investigations. The author expresses a hope that he may follow it with a more advanced treatise. It may be said, however, that if students of medicine and of public health should master and employ the methods here indicated enormous progress in the exactness of our knowledge regarding many problems of biometry and public health would result. In fact, it will be obvious to the experienced reader of statistical treatises that a very large portion of this volume is much more advanced than the average student, even graduate student, will be able to comprehend without capable instruction.

Professor Pearl, who nearly twenty years ago studied with Karl Pearson in the Biometric Laboratory at University College, London, may be called the Karl Pearson of America. His originality, however, runs less in the direction of the development of mathematical methods and formulae than in the ingenious and illuminating manner in which he applies the statistical method to all sorts of biological and medical problems. Any student of the social sciences who wishes a grounding in thorough-going scientific methodology should acquaint himself with the writings of Professor Pearl. This volume covers the statistical methods of tabulation, graphic representation, rates and ratios, life tables, death rates (standard, crude, corrected and specific), the elementary principles of probability and probable error, variation, correlation (ordinary, partial and multiple), and simple curve fitting. In the discussion of method are included many tables of

great interest and value to students of population and vital statistics.

This volume may be highly recommended to all students of the social sciences who are interested in the biological aspects of social life, and to those social workers who are interested in problems of public health and child mortality. Certainly no greater godsend could be vouchsafed to man than that the methods of exact quantitative investigation should replace the methods of crude ideology, personal impression, and superficial observation, badly corrupted often by a shallow humanitarian sentimentality, which now makes all major social problems the favorite stamping ground of every sort of enthusiast.

* * *

This little volume is one of the most interesting and valuable contributions to sociology and anthropology that have been published in many months. In most parts of Melanesia the native population has been disappearing for several decades. In 1896 was published the "Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the decrease of the native population, Colony of Fiji." Now after nearly thirty years when numerous regions that not long ago contained scores of villages are now almost or entirely uninhabited, we have these essays by three missionaries, a late resident commissioner, a physician, an anthropologist and Professor Rivers, who may qualify as anthropologist, psychologist and sociologist.

The destruction of a quarter to a third of the Fiji Islanders in the measles epidemic of 1874-5 is well known; but it is little known that cases are on record of half a village being wiped out by dysentery introduced by natives returning from a period of labor on the plantations of Australasia. The contact with the white man has introduced not only measles and dysentery, but influenza, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and venereal infections. While the natives were nearly immune to the malaria of their homeland, they had no hereditary resistance to these new diseases. Such resistance seems, however, to be developing rapidly.

The system of recruiting natives for labor elsewhere has been a gross evil, only recently brought under human control by the British, but not by the French. Alcohol, opium and fire-arms have also played their part in destroying the natives. Much more important was the introduction of clothing. The Melanesians have natur-

ally a fair degree of cleanliness, bathing frequently. With no or scanty clothing adapted to a warm moist climate their smooth brown bodies were much better treated than when covered with a full European accoutrement. Moreover, new clothes are put on over old ones; soaking rains are frequent; clothes are not removed at night. All of which shows the folly of introducing into a well unified culture certain isolated elements from an entirely alien one. It is not a little interesting to find the missionaries, who not long since were rebuking the natives for their nakedness, now declaring that they find no connection between clothes and sexual immorality, that the greatest prude may be the greatest sinner, and urging a return toward the simple cleanly costume of earlier days.

But by all odds the main interest of this work attaches to the demonstration that the primary cause of the decadence of the Melanesians is a loss of interest in life due to the disruption of established mores. Sumner declared that the mores can hardly be changed; and there is some adhesion to the doctrine that every culture has about it a special genius which forces its development in definite channels, so that it lacks capacity to modify itself as a whole. Certain it is that European culture has frequently acted like a withering blast upon the cultures of simpler peoples. Several of these writers, and especially Professor Rivers, hold that the main cause of the decline of population is the destruction of those elements of the old culture which the missionaries did not understand and with which they could have no sympathy. Such are head hunting; the custom of the men sleeping in the men's house, instead of with their wives as good Christian morality required; the cult of ancestor worship; cross-cousin marriages; etc.

Head-hunting, for example, was a practice of deep religious significance. It required many months of preparation, especially of canoe building and ceremonial feasts; it was thus of great economic significance; an expedition might engage in only a few hours of actual fighting; the practice had little significance for the rate of mortality of population. Professor Rivers points out that the sensible method of meeting such a custom would have been to first substitute some other head, say that of a pig, for the human, and canoe races for the hunting expeditions on the

occasions of religious and ceremonial need. Similarly as regards other elements of the original culture, provision should have been made for a gradual transition so as to allow time for a new outlook on life to get its roots into the soil of native mores and mysteries.

As it is, the natives seem to have no interest in continuing life. If this interpretation is correct, then even the will to live is fundamentally a social effect. The natives succumb to the slightest ailments and seem to desire death as a release from a life which seems to them to be only a monotonous round of labor for the white man. The birth rate, according to statistics given by Rivers, is only a third what it was two or three generations ago. Abortion, which is an ancient practice, but only for the prevention of illegitimacy or revenge upon a too severe husband, takes its place now alongside new methods of birth prevention, because women do not see any reason why they should bring children into such a hopeless world.

The destruction of primitive cultures must be regretted by all those who are able to appreciate their variety, symmetry, and adaptation to particular environments. But such destruction appears to be inevitable all over the world. If missionary zeal in the past has done a vast amount of harm through its inability to understand the native mind and its rude destruction of all that seemed to make life worth living, there are many signs in this volume that a revolutionary change has taken place in the views of the truly enlightened servants of the Lord. With the dawn of understanding on their part has gone a decline in evangelical zeal, an increase of sincere efforts to know the inner motivations of the native mind, and the adoption of wise methods of helping the natives to a new philosophy of life. Such changes are necessary if the nature peoples are to survive the increasing pressures of advancing Westernism. That they can be brought about, that the mores can be changed, is shown by the evidence advanced by Rivers that the birthrate has been restored in certain communities that have gone through a period of readjustment.

* * *

This is a series of seven essays on a variety of topics and of quite varied interest to the student of social life. They are far from easy or enjoyable reading, being written in an involved style with a tendency to ramble more or less leisurely

into by-paths. The first essay, "Progress, Biological and Other," though tediously turgid, is one of the best. It holds that evolution is essentially progressive in that it has brought about an increase in size, in complexity and integration of parts, in self-regulation, in utilization of experience, and even in the development of speech and social tradition. The second essay, "Biology and Sociology," reflects the controversies of a generation ago and cannot be said to make any contribution either to philosophical biology or to the solution of moot points. The sociologist today is less interested in the organismic analogy, the question whether human, i.e., social, evolution is continuous with animal, and the significance for social theory of the forms of coöperation found in the animal world, than he is in the role of heredity and variation, the transmission of use modifications, reversed selection, eugenics, etc., none of which are here mentioned.

Doubtless most students of society will agree that the best chapter is that on the psycho-biology of sex, "Sex Biology and Sex Psychology." Here the author makes the valuable suggestion that much of Freudianism must be corrected so as to take account of the new science of endocrinology. In fact, throughout this essay he keeps closer to facts and wanders less into the alluring search for "significance," and "values," a search in which the best of minds are apt to lose themselves in an involved expression of their own subjectivism.

This, indeed, is the primary fault with these essays. The author repeatedly expresses his deep appreciation of the significance of the scientific view of life. In fact, he tells us that the central theme of the book is an attempt to apply the scientific view to certain major problems of human interest. But through the whole there runs a note of ultimate mysticism which introduces confusion and even contradiction. He pictures nature as "blind and non-conscious forces" (p. XII); and holds that "in pre-human evolution, the blind chances of variation and the blind sifting of natural selection have directed the course of evolution and progress" (p. XI, 39, *et passim*); and yet evolution is only another term for the "directional processes to be seen in the universe" (p. 74, *et passim*); all of which has been a "manifestation in external things of 'something not ourselves, that makes for righteousness'."

Thus blind non-conscious chance becomes a god guiding the whole universe in sublime order toward some far-off millenium of complete righteousness!

The same contradiction runs through the later essays dealing with "Rationalism and the Idea of God" and "Science and Religion: New Wine in Old Bottles." The author sees the necessity of rejecting all supernaturalism. In a world of immutable and universal law there is no place for a personal God. Similarly all ideas of miracle and inspiration must be abandoned as relics of a savage's ignorance. So far, good. But the author does not succeed in carrying through his professed desire to be scientific throughout. He is clearly correct in holding that the whole edifice of religious institutions erected on the ancient beliefs in a personal, spiritual, tri-une God is tumbling to the ground, so far as the educated public is concerned. He is clearly correct in holding that man's tendency to erect symbols, to think in terms of them, and to make them objects of deep emotional attitudes are basic elements in religious organization and experience. He is clearly correct in holding that psychology is finding in the operations of the mind itself the explanation of many of those phenomena formerly thought supernatural; and that the further development of psychology will throw a flood of light on the means and methods of producing those experiences called religious.

But he leaves one in a morass of ideas surrounded by a cloud of words. "God is the universe, not as much, but as far as grasped as a whole by the mind, embodied in an idea and in consequence capable of influencing that mind and through it the whole course of events." That is the "external basis of the idea of God." The "inner reality" is something else, but it was impossible for this reviewer to find out just what.

It is only plain that it is not what it has been supposed to be.

If one is to carry his rationalism straight through his thinking he must begin by viewing religion as a natural phenomenon to be explained in the same terms as other social phenomena. It represents in last analysis the impress of group interest on the impressionable mind of gregarious man. It is the ultimate demand of the group on the individual to serve the interests of the group in those matters which the group considers of primary importance to its safety and prosperity. No realistic observer of American society in the year 1924 would make the mistake of supposing that Christianity is its real religion. The jumble of half-deserted ideas and the mumble of almost forgotten rituals have no power to move men to that supreme sacrifice of self for the common good which is the essence of religious power and experience. The actual vital religion of today is patriotism. Huxley himself in earlier pages says as much: "To the average man his country has become his real God. In the last hundred years, Nationalism has usurped the place of Religion" (p. 95). There can be little doubt that the average minister has recently been much less successful in preaching peace and brotherly love than in preaching their opposites, war and patriotism, preparedness and hundred-per-centism. It seems nearly certain that war and blood-shed will remain one of the chief industries of nations until the same factors which now so strongly emphasize patriotism have so organized the trade of the world and thereby its psychic bonds as to make internationalism as much an object of supreme devotion, with as moving symbols and as stirring songs and rituals as nationalism is today.

No mention is made here of two other essays on "Bird-Mind" and "Philosophical Ants," which seem to be run in as "filler."

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION AGAIN

FRANK HAMILTON HANKINS

THE ACTION OF ALCOHOL ON MAN. By Ernest H. Starling. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1923, pp. 291.

THIS IS A VERY thorough and significant work. Professor Starling is professor of physiology at University College, London, and in the first 182 pages of this volume discusses

the subject which gives title to the book. There are in addition the following essays: "Alcohol as a Medicine," by Robert Hutchison, Physician to the London Hospital; "Alcohol and Its Relations to Problems in Mental Disorders," by Sir Frederick W. Mott, Pathologist to the London County Council Asylums; and "Alcohol and Mortality,"

by Dr. Raymond Pearl, Professor of Biometry and Vital Statistics, in the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health. All four parts of the volume are valuable, but those of Professor Starling and Dr. Pearl are especially so.

Professor Starling writes in a fine spirit of scientific candor and his discussion can therefore be made to furnish arguments both for and against prohibition. For the most part he leaves the political and social applications of the facts to readers according to their biases and predilections. Nevertheless he says in the "Preface": The evidence here presented "has convinced me that in a civilized society such as ours the abolition of all alcoholic beverages from among our midst, even if carried out by universal consent, would be a mistake and contrary to the permanent interests of the race. If it were enforced by legislation against the wishes and convictions of a large proportion of the community, I believe it would be little short of a calamity." Though a physician the author here proves himself at once a good Englishman and sociologist as well.

Interestingly enough he opens his study with references to the Greek and Roman myths of the benefits conferred upon mankind by Bacchus, references which strongly suggest that entertaining, but mildly-amusing-because-too-serious, book by Anthony Ludovici, "Man's Descent from the Gods" (N. Y., 1921). The subtitle of that book is, "The Complete Case Against Prohibition" and the essence of the argument is that Prometheus was punished because his otherwise inestimable boon destroyed certain life-giving properties in food (now called vitamins), but Dionysus, with his wines and fermented liquors neutralized the effects of the cooking of foods and once more filled man with the joy of living.

Now Starling makes out a very strong case for alcohol as a food: it is readily absorbed and quickly utilizable, and supplies energy in a form that protects the fats and carbohydrates. Taken in small quantities with a meal it adds zest and relaxation which are good for both mind and body. "Wine maketh glad the heart of man," but the reason is that it relaxes the higher control centers. This may be highly beneficial to mental health and optimism if it comes at the end of the day after a hearty meal; but because the action of alcohol is characteristically depressant, this relaxation is not conducive to sustained

mental or physical effort during working hours. Alcohol will revive the faint and help one over the crest of a momentary hard pull, but as it increases the resistance to the flow of nervous energy at the synapses it increases friction, lowers the speed, and reduces the total amount of work accomplished in the steady grind of everyday work.

Because its energy is readily assimilated, "wine is the milk of old age." For a like reason alcohol is an excellent food for "tired" stomachs and for diabetics. But in all such cases it must be taken in small doses at frequent intervals, for a large dose saturates the blood and diffuses itself through the tissues of the entire body. A moderate dose may make a brilliant talker of the diffident but an over-dose a babbling fool of the most gifted. By reducing caution intemperance leads to physical exposure and indiscretion, and thus to such infections as syphilis or pneumonia. The tissues may be thoroughly soaked and yet complete oxidation will completely clarify the system in seven to ten hours with no measurable ill effects, if the experience be not too frequent; but meanwhile contaminations of various sorts due to exposure and indiscretion may have started their never-to-be-eliminated train of evils. Science accords with the general sense of mankind in making out a good case for moderate use but a very bad case for immoderate use.

These results agree exactly with those of Professor Rivers (W. H. R. Rivers: *The Influence of Alcohol and Other Drugs on Fatigue*, London, 1908.) who found that: "In the case of muscular work, we have seen that there is a definite evidence that small doses, varying from 5 to 20 c.c. of absolute alcohol, (12 c.c. equals roughly the amount of alcohol in a glass of beer or a wine-glass of claret) have no effect on the amount or nature of work performed with the ergograph, either immediately or within several hours of their administration. . . . With larger doses than 40 c. c., we have the work of Hellsten, showing a decided falling off in the amount of work."

To the reviewer the relation of alcohol to heredity is a primary issue. It may be recalled that Professor Pearson aroused a storm of controversy by his findings to the effect (1) that chronic alcoholism was intimately correlated with inherent nervous defect, and (2) that the children of drinking parents grew as fast if not faster

and were only slightly, if any, less advanced in school attainments than the children of non-drinkers. So also Professor Pearl found that several generations of alcoholized chickens produced a breed that matured earlier and laid more eggs. The experiments of Professor Stockard have been frequently referred to by persons who have not followed them through to their conclusion. In the earlier generations there was an increased mortality and general debility, but by the fourth generation selection had worked so vigorously that the mortality was one-fourth less than that among the control animals. It is not improbable that similar actions occur in the case of man. Another important fact is that continuous alcoholization results in atrophy of the sex glands and a marked reduction of gametes, even to the point of sterility. But before such result is attained drinking parents will have had some offspring, so that the social aspects of the alcoholic family become of great importance. If one is, therefore, inclined to emphasize the potency of environment he will declare that the social effects, especially the degradation of child life, is an intolerable evil; but if inclined to emphasize the prepotency of heredity, as is the present reviewer, he will see a loss to the race in checking the selective effects of alcohol. Western races have, through many centuries, become fairly well adjusted to an alcohol environment; to remove the alcohol will not change the inherent instabilities of those stocks which succumb to it. Like our other efforts to save the defective from the consequences of their inherent inferiority this will increase their progeny in the next generation; and it will increase the social problems which they create. The effort to so mold the environment as to make a normal life possible for morons and neurotics will give us first an environment suitable for slaves, nobodies, and psychopaths and then social collapse.

As to the relation of alcohol to mental disorders, Dr. Mott finds that primary consideration must be given to individual differences. What is normal and beneficial for one is abnormal and detrimental for another. "Moderation in the normal mentally sound and stable individual may be excess in the case of the mental defective, the epileptic, the neurasthenic, the potential lunatic, and the possessor of an invalid brain." "Alcohol

plays a relatively unimportant part in the production of certified insanity. All the evidence, however, indisputably tends to show that persons with an inborn neuropathic or psychopathic tendency, therefore having a narrow margin of self-control, become anti-social by quantities of alcohol which would have no effect on the normal individual" (p. 211).

After seventy pages devoted to a painstaking examination of the relation of alcohol to mortality, Pearl concludes that moderate use "does not sensibly shorten the mean duration of life or increase the rate of mortality." "Excessive use definitely diminishes the mean duration of life and increases the rate of mortality. There is need of further critical study to determine to what extent the statistical experience of greater mortality among the intemperate is due to a direct pathological effect of the alcohol upon the tissues of the body, and to what extent it is due to an indirect effect through the alterations of behavior, etc." (p. 278-9). The common assumption that insurance statistics show that even a small amount of alcohol shortens life is found by Pearl to be erroneous. Life insurance companies do not in fact know the drinking habits of their policyholders except through personal statements made when insurance is applied for. They do not follow the changes in such habits; they make no allowance for differences of race, occupation or cause of death. In other words, the determination of the specific effect of various degrees of alcoholic consumption on mortality is a problem requiring careful statistical treatment the general results of which are stated above.

It is assumed by many that the prohibition amendment settled the question of alcohol consumption in this country once and for all. In view of subsequent developments this is far from certain. No great issue so complex as this one can be settled right on the basis of inflamed emotions, partisanship and appeals to ethical and religious traditions. Science should be the arbiter, but democracy is prone to follow its own devices. Is there not a curious illogicality between the democratic claim that men are capable of self-government and the irresistible desire on the part of some to impose a mode of life on others? If men are truly endowed with a spirit of liberty and

independence, can they be forced into the dull flat uniformity of an egalitarian mold? We are quite properly moved by humanitarian sentiment, but in consequence we are going great lengths to

protect the weak, the defective and the vicious from the results of their folly, increasing their numbers and piling up an increased social burden for the next generation.

THE PRACTICABILITY OF SOCIAL REFORM

KIMBALL YOUNG

THE CONTROL OF THE SOCIAL MIND: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS. By Arland D. Weeks, with an Introduction by Joseph Jastrow. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1923, xvii, 263 pp. \$2.25.

THIS BOOK may be thought of as lying on the borderline between the technical treatise and the somewhat popular account for the general reader who wants something factual yet put together in readable style. It is divided into two sections, the first dealing with the "fundamentals and their applications," the second, with the "social mind at closer range."

The opening chapters are concerned with building a bridge from psychology to sociology over which the reader may pass to the interpretation of social problems. "It is a well-known fact that knowledge of a principle does not guarantee its application" (p. 5), hence it is for the sociologists and their colleagues to make some efforts at using the available knowledge of human motives and tendencies for social advancement. Professor Weeks believes that emphasis upon individual differences and eugenical problems is not nearly so important as the study of motive, attitude, habit and social concept. In fact, for him, this latter is the field of social psychology. It is concerned with the mental and emotional processes of the individual, in relation to others, on the one hand, and also with the products of this interrelation on the other: institutions, fashions, arts, morals and the like. The fundamental thesis of the book is that "the evils of society represent misdirected energy" (p. 22) and that by taking a departure from an objective science of human behavior, we may come to control man's social and individual destiny toward ethical ends. "There lies within the power of education and social control the vast resource of redirecting the expression of human nature and substituting preferred activities for those condemned by experience" (p. 20).

In his excellent chapters upon habit and the concept, the author points out the changes that have taken place in material controls under the stimulus of modern invention and science. In his past social life man has been at the mercy of irrational taboos and folkways which kept him submerged and afraid of his capacity for sensible control of his own behavior. With the coming of modern social science (psychology would be included here), this fear should pass. In its place we should see the "coming" of the day of social sanity. One of the prominent deterrents to change is found in the concepts which are accepted on authority. These usually find their expression in language and often the form of the idea or action concerned persists long after the necessity for the same has passed away. For what W. I. Thomas aptly calls the "definition of the situation," Weeks employs the term "social concept." Here, he remarks, "The fact that opinions often rest on a basis of habit rather than of rationality is one that cannot happily be overlooked" (p. 43). Yet, even so, an "elasticity of concept" is possible. "General ideas must change with change" (p. 55). The rise of urban centers, the breakdown of the primary groups and the easier intercourse of persons due to rapid communication have brought new social problems which must be solved. So too, the widening of the political and economic boundaries should force our attachments outward from the neighborhood to the city, the county, the nation, the world. Professor Weeks boldly declares that, contrary to some popular notions, the citizens' "problems" today are "in order of importance: international, national, state, and lastly county, city and local" (pp. 59-60).

The chapter on the psychology of defense is one of peculiarly vigorous, epigrammatic style. The need of protection, the ruses made possible by the employment of mind in propaganda, the play of emotional bias, are all set forth. Then follow two chapters, one on the basis of coöperation

and one on the "psychology of public business" in which a program for making obvious to instinctively selfish mankind the benefits of coöperation is laid out. The native egotist must recognize that by mutual help he may secure certain things for himself more handily. The real problem, of course, is to instigate individual initiative while at the same time reaping the values of socialization. Among the methods of this socialization is a more active interest on the part of the layman in his government. We need government bureaux of information to set before us the facts collected by experts, and upon the basis of these the public should be called upon to render political judgments. To the author the trouble now lies in the fact that we leave too much to the politician and to the elected representative who no longer represents because of shifts made in the political scene between election time and legislative periods. Thus the "psychology of public business" is the psychology of every man's interest in every one else, and I suppose if one pushed this analysis far enough one would have to recognize that gossip in some shape or other is the most pertinent form of social control.

In the second half of his book the author discusses the place and the modification of man's instinctive trends which although admittedly powerful are after all under the domination of the intelligence. A simple use of the intellectual capacity would free us from much of the wastage of instinctive reactions, reactions which frankly do not fit into our civilized living. In the field of motives we need to shift our attention toward likenesses between ideals and customs in divergent races and class, rather than to continue to emphasize differences. Once we arrive at this point, many of the prevalent destructive motives will disappear.

Furthermore, the social use of man's creative tendencies, witnessed in play, when properly directed bring immense returns in spiritual progress. So too, if we could control the social uses of memory, that is, control our reverence for tradition and history, we should be able to release much otherwise unused energy for social constructiveness. In order to possess sense and perspective in historical background and to react to present realities, we must combat the evils of misapplied suggestion from our group elders and also enhance our powers for accuracy.

Above all else we require a change of attitude toward the social order. Government must be under the influence of the public mind at all times; we must guard ourselves against the ritualization of political forms, of bureaucracy and of all the faults of entrenched power. Among the important things making this possible is the clear recognition on the part of the population that public education should be free and untrammelled by politics. Professor Weeks writes, "Institutions of learning belong peculiarly to the unofficial state and the whole people, and should be unaffected by official mood and unstirred by the comparatively ephemeral governmental organization. . . . Education is the most fundamental government" (p. 223), for only when man is wise will he be able to control himself and "the welfare of society is bound up with the ascendancy of rational mind" (p. 230) which education gives.

In his final chapter there is an eloquent plea for the release of man's powers for socially valuable ends. The tradition that the old men shall rule has bound us too long. There is today a clarion call to our youth to arm themselves for the struggle for ethical progress. If we do not use the intelligence of man in the direction of social salvation our whole civilization is pretty certain to go to rot. Over-specialization needs balancing with a sober social perspective, in short, a social philosophy. There is a possibility of scientific management of men's affairs which ought to make us aspire to develop this in its highest form. In truth, man's supreme accomplishment in evolution, intellect, must in turn take over the shaping of the coming ages. As the author puts it in his concluding sentence, "The future belongs to the great natural motivations of instinct illuminated by logical analysis, developed attention, self-restraint, verified knowledge, and disciplined imagination" (p. 260).

Surely the easy-going optimism of the writer of this book is contagious and one feels that one should wish it were all so. After the pleasant emotional toning of this utopia-building has dissipated itself against the sterner realities, however, one returns to make a judgment and a criticism of this volume.

One is struck by the similarity of this treatise to a host of others upon the modern book stalls. As in the writings of Walter Lippmann, of John

Dewey and of James Harvey Robinson, which purport to dip, for facts, into biology and psychology, so too here the rigid thinker discovers some pretty evident inconsistencies. For the sake of balance it is well to indicate in brief what some of these are.

We find, primarily, the use of two different psychological foundations in these accounts of the social order. There is a definite recognition, for example, throughout the present book of man's irrational, selfish nature. The writer speaks, again and again, of man's private interests and the dominance they have in his life. He mentions, too, the rise of new sentiments, emotions and novel lines of attention and of new taboos. Yet, in spite of the explicit narration of man's instinctive motives: love and hate, selfishness and egocentricism, coupled with the tendency to follow prestige-bearing persons, there is the employment of another psychology, one built on the theory of man as a reasoning, little-lower-than-the-angels sort of being. Upon this second, outworn psychology, the author constructs his utopia.

Man, in the mass, may assume the tentative experimental method about matters of social control, thinks our author. The affairs of national and international importance would be solved if we possessed "a manageable system of reporting to citizens" the facts, and secondly, had "a workable system by which the civic body can instruct its agents" (p. 96). So also, if we crossed off the names of registered voters who failed to attend to their duty in balloting, not only for men, but for measures, we should somehow improve the quality of our representatives and of our statutes. Throughout there is a strange faith in social mechanism, which bespeaks the mechanistic age, both in industry and philosophy.

Another inconsistency, is the statement that modern man's problems are first of all those of international and national matters and only lastly those of local importance. Still, the author maintains in another place that "democratic government, to arouse the emotions that will give it the drive and vigilance needed for permanency and expansion, will have to see to it that a great many people have active participation even in small ways" (p. 102). How are we to bring about a nexus between a scheme of government which demands active and personal participation of the citizenry with one in which the fundamental in-

terests of the person are those of international and national character, removed by distance and hence from contact with his direct perceptions? There is good opinion in some quarters that what we need is decentralization of political power, a return to the local community of much of the function taken over of late by super-community organization. This fits with one of the writer's contentions but clearly not with the other. It may be that man's foremost interest should be the world at large but it is hard to convince him of it in view of immediate face-to-face problems.

The whole head and front of this business is a misconception of the nature of the social or what I prefer to call the cultural reality. Overimpressed by man's tremendous success in controlling the material universe, we have been misled to imagine that by increased knowledge of psychology and of the social sciences we can come to make over our social order by mechanical ethics. Without being dogmatic about what may ultimately be done in this regard, it is essential to point out that so far we know practically nothing of man's personality, and little or nothing of the mechanisms by which mores, folkways and taboos in the hands of tribal chieftains, primitive or modern, operate. Following the methodology of the other sciences, we can not hope to predicate a social reform until we know much more than we do about the interplay of human nature and the social order.

Our first attention should be to make extensive and careful studies of how groups are formed and how held together and of the place of emotional settings and attitudes. Likewise, the work of measuring mental and other traits and the finding of vast individual differences in the population can not be simply passed over by the statement that "large improvement comes to any mind when it is supplied with ample and suitable thought materials and stimulating opportunity" (p. 228). There is too much evidence at hand of experimental nature to allow this remark to go unchallenged.

To conclude, then, one must maintain that the difficulty with the present volume, as with many like it, is the implication that because we have had great shiftings in our physical comforts and material cultures, we are bound to arrive shortly at a social millenium wherein reason and experimental imagination will dominate us. If we catch

the significance for sociology and psychology of human evolution, if we learn the lessons of biology, paleontology and anthropology correctly, it seems to me that we shall become much more cautious in presuming on man's rational mind to suddenly achieve control of forces within him,—emotions, instincts and habits which lie so much deeper than reason in the sub-stratum of mind itself.

What we so frequently fail to observe, in the present age of social self-consciousness, is that mores, folkways and the whole gamut of attitudes, sentiments and the general motive patterns or wishes still control us. We neglect the fact that the inventions of man's hand and brain are merely utilized to satisfy further these other patterns of behavior. We alter mores and folkways true enough, but what we fail to observe is that they change not from irrational to rational ground, but only from one irrational basis to another. One of the normally irrational things for man to do it to attribute to himself, in his formations of new habits, the rationality which his very behavior falsifies.

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PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY. By Frederick A. Bushee. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923, xiii, 577 pp. \$4.00.

This text-book for college students is characterized by the unusual space devoted to the biological factors in social evolution. The author says in the Preface: . . . "I believe that the character and quality of the population are of much more importance in the life and development of social groups than would be indicated by the treatment of most writers." About four times as many pages are given to biological as to psychological influences. Professor Bushee says he does not underestimate the importance of the psychological factors, but that he feels "they may best be developed as a separate branch of the science." The result is a somewhat unbalanced book but not more so than many texts written by psychological sociologists.

The following brief outline will give an idea of the organization of the book:

Social evolution is the active and passive adaptation of man to a changing environment, physical and social. Man attempts to adapt himself because nature has given him four fundamental desires which express themselves in dif-

ferent types of social activities. Thus the desire for self-preservation is the root of economic and political activities (Part II); the desire for race continuance leads to activities connected with sex and the family (Part III); the desire for approbation operating through the processes of imitation and opposition "is one of the chief forces in social life" (Part IV); and "consciousness of life" expresses itself in conjunction with other desires in morality, art, science and religion (Part V). This last "social force" is defined by the author as "the perception that one act is inherently superior to another," and is said to be more rational and less universal than the other desires.

These four groups of activities are at once the expression of the corresponding desires and factors determining social organization and behavior. Under each of them related subjects and problems are discussed somewhat independently. Thus under the head of economic and political activities we learn of adaptation to the inorganic and the lower organic environment to other human groups and to other members within the group. This discussion leads to the treatment of such problems as the struggle with disease, the domestication of animals, war and competition, social stratification, the exploitation of man by man, and especially the division of labor and the unequal distribution of wealth. These last two topics are given a place of major importance in the analysis. Similarly the political effects of this process of adaptation are seen in the development of the state and of law. Though necessarily incomplete the treatment of these factors seems to the reviewer to be reasonably satisfactory. Had statistical evidence of the trend and distribution of real incomes been included, valuable data would have been added, important in itself and useful as a possible test of over-population which is discussed in Part III.

Under "Genetic Factors" we find extended discussion of sex, the family, the growth of population, migration and heredity. Here much attention is given to the unsolvable problem of the relative importance of heredity and environment. The author attempts to maintain an impartial attitude throughout this discussion, but concludes that the evidence favors heredity as the more important of the two. There is also stimulating discussion of sexual and genetic selection. In this connection it is unfortunate that Carr-Saunders'

recent valuable contribution to these subjects was apparently not available to the author when the book was being written. Nevertheless, in the judgment of the reviewer, this is by far the most valuable division of the book. Despite certain weaknesses and apparently contradictory statements, the reader will find here much material not easily available. It is material of great significance, also, for students who wish more than a superficial view of social life. In this section by the judicious use of statistics, the author most nearly approaches the use of the scientific method. A somewhat abstract discussion of the Malthusian doctrine is less fortunate. After all, modern students do not particularly care whether or not that doctrine applies to a static society, since we are living in a dynamic one. We do care whether it applies to any regions or social classes of today.

Part IV, dealing with psychological factors, should probably have either been omitted altogether or greatly expanded. Certainly the material there presented is given more adequate and stimulating treatment in a score of other sources.

The discussion of cultural factors in Part V is also incomplete and at times confused. One wonders, also, whether the same writer can ever be expected to interpret adequately statistical coefficients of correlation on the one hand, and describe the subtle social influences of art on the other!

The concluding chapter attempts to show the interrelationship of the several factors in social causation. This important synthesis is not made as clear-cut and convincing as it might be hoped. It does not appear to grow naturally out of the analysis which has preceded it. It is indeed surprising, also, that one who has stressed biological factors throughout two-fifths of his book, should almost neglect them in drawing his conclusions. If the "character and quality of the population" are indeed of such importance as indicated in Part III, one would suppose that the proportions of the different qualities which different societies contain would have great weight in determining its type of social organization, its behavior and its progress. But it is the influence of the environment, minimized in Part III, which is everywhere stressed in the conclusion. No doubt the "genetic factors" are conceived as operating through more proximate influences, such as "the character of the mental life" but their manner of operation

is not made clear. The result is an impression of inconsistency in the book, which probably does not exist in the mind of the author.

Nevertheless this book has much to commend it. Whether adopted as a text or not it may well serve as a reference in the biological field of sociology. It is an eminently "safe" text. Family problems are discussed from the conservative point of view. Birth control is hardly mentioned despite the prominence given to the population problem. There is little or no recognition of the alleged impelling demands of primitive instincts functioning in a non-primitive world. The "New Psychology" finds no place in its pages. A not altogether convincing attempt to harmonize the influences of science and religion is made. A distribution of wealth in accordance with natural ability is urged, and wars will only cease when common interests are realized. But the triumph of group loyalty over class loyalty in war-time is nevertheless presented as a "fortunate" circumstance. The text is "safe." It is, of course, less stimulating to thought for that reason.

Despite much merit the book is not, however, a comprehensive sociological text. The neglect of psychological factors has already been mentioned. The history of social organization and the development of social institutions is neglected. The method is rather analytical. Perhaps for this reason the importance of tradition in social progress is not stressed. The treatment of social control is somewhat scattered. Social pathology is deliberately, and perhaps wisely, omitted. In part, however, these seeming omissions are the result of the arrangement of the material.

The disregard of such subjects as "race differences" and "the measurement of individual differences" is less easily understood in a book emphasizing biological influences. Race differences may conceivably be largely unreal, but they are being widely accepted as real, and should therefore be treated if only to be explained away. The intelligence tests are probably not accurate measures of innate ability, but they too are being widely accepted as such. Moreover the results of these tests to date are, to the extent that they are acceptable, a confirmation of the reality of the natural class differences emphasized in Part III of this book.

In many places Professor Bushee shows commendable scientific poise when discussing contro-

versial subjects. In other places, however, his statements are dogmatic. Moreover the attempt at impartiality seems to have led the author into apparent inconsistencies in a number of places. A few examples will illustrate this:

We are too ignorant of the laws of heredity to make heredity the basis for sexual mating (244); but we are not too ignorant to adopt an elaborate Eugenic program nor to give "Eugenic advice" when defects appear in superior stock (401-4).

"Genius, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy and insanity are all inherited, but the method of their inheritance is not established" (346). And yet later we are told (speaking of insanity) "Some kinds are inherited and others are produced by environmental causes" (352).

"Existing inequalities are chiefly the result of social conditions, past and present, and are altogether too extreme to be natural or inevitable" (29). And yet, "It is reasonable to suppose that in democratic countries environmental conditions are not so bad that superior ability is in any large degree suppressed" (379).

The style of the book is sometimes heavy, but is usually clear. More concrete examples would have contributed to interest and clarity. On the whole the book informs rather than stimulates thought.

Despite the above criticisms, the reviewer sees much merit in Professor Bushee's text-book. He will order it for collateral reading. It seems to him that a comprehensive scholarly text-book in Sociology is still to be written. When such a book is written, will it not probably be the product of a number of specialists with somewhat different points of view, writing under the editorial guidance of a sociologist of unusual breadth of view and scientific balance? Would not such a text (it might run to three volumes) be more scientific than most of those we now use, and yet have greater unity than the usual source book?

DONALD R. TAFT.

Wells College.

POLITICS AND PROGRESS, A SURVEY OF THE PROBLEMS OF TODAY. By Ramsay Muir. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1923, 182 pp. \$1.75.

"The purpose of this little book," the author tells us, "is to give a coherent view of the political and social aims of Liberalism," in England. By "Liberalism" it must be understood is meant the

Liberal party of which the author is an ardent adherent. In this purpose it not only eminently succeeds, but performs a most useful service, not only for Englishmen, for whom it was primarily intended, but also for Americans. Such an achievement would be absolutely impossible in this country. Can we conceive of a coherent, and indeed a philosophical, treatise on the "political and social aims" of either the Republican or Democratic party? The implication is most revealing with respect to the vastly higher intellectual and moral level on which politics are conducted in Great Britain.

The basal idea of the book, which the evidence amply supports, is that the Liberal party today embodies a distinct and definite political philosophy, essentially different from the philosophy of either the Conservative or Labor party. It is not merely the mean between two extremes; rather is the situation comparable to the three angles of a triangle, in which each is definitely opposed, yet linked, to both the others. If this be true, its significance with respect to a possible break-up of Liberalism, and the reestablishment of the traditional two-party system is obvious. That the Liberal party has a real *raison d'être*; a constructive program, built on a coherent and consistent political philosophy is Mr. Muir's central thesis.

Fundamentally Liberalism today is still individualistic, but it is not the *laissez faire* individualism which would reduce the state to a mere protective or police agency. The author indeed contends, and marshals considerable evidence to support his contention, that Liberalism never was *laissez faire*. With T. H. Green, the Liberal philosopher, it is held to be "the business of the state to maintain the conditions without which a free exercise of the human faculties is impossible." Thus an ample theoretical justification is found for the expansion of state functions, provided always that such expansion conduces to the fullest possible achievement of individual freedom. The existing order is defective in inhibiting in many ways the attainment of this ideal of self-realization. Particularly does Liberalism condemn as defects, first, "the maladjustment of wealth, the juxtaposition of extremes of riches and penury, and the fact that great accumulations of wealth are often gained by illegitimate and unsocial means;" second, "the cruel insecurity

which overhangs great masses of our people from childhood to death;" and third, "the humiliating feeling that working folk are treated as mere instruments of wealth-making, thrown aside when they are not wanted, and denied any share or control over the conditions in which they have to work, or any sense of citizenship in the industries to which their lives and strength are given." Seeking to "avoid on the one hand, the blankness of the Conservative outlook, and on the other the unreality and the mechanical completeness of the Socialistic vision," the Liberal creed, as elaborated in this work, presents a concrete program of reform.

With reference to foreign relations the Liberal ideal envisages a great League of Nations, "which will put an end to the constant fear of war, relieve the peoples of the necessity of wasting their substance upon competitive armaments, and create the conditions wherein every nation will be able to make its distinctive contribution in freedom to the common stock of civilization." The British Empire will become, if the Liberal ideal is achieved, a "great brotherhood of free nations," bound together not by ties of sovereignty, nor exclusive trade agreements, nor even bonds of common defence, but by "ties of mutual understanding, arising from a common pride in the same institutions of freedom, and in the same heritage of culture and thought." The Liberal state will continue to exercise control over backward nations, but always regarding itself as a trustee,—a trustee for its simple subjects on the one hand, and for civilization on the other." And this trusteeship will always be subject to the watchful criticism of the world as expressed through the League of Nations.

Internally the Liberal State will be characterized by three attributes: democracy; self-government; and variety. This will involve the election of members to Parliament on the basis of proportional representation (the single transferable vote method). It will involve a great extension of local self-government (devolution), not only county and borough becoming much more autonomous than at present, but even perhaps Scotland and Wales enjoying a large degree of home rule through legislative agencies of their own choosing.

The fundamental conditions of freedom are health and education. To secure these in fullest

degree means a great extension of the state's functions. As relates to the safeguarding and improving the health of the people, "slums must be cleared away; the foulness of smoke must be banished from urban areas; towns must be intelligently planned and provided with abundant open spaces; healthy houses must be provided in sufficient abundance for the whole population; competent medical advice must be available for everybody; hospitals of many types must be numerous enough to meet all needs." In the field of education, "classes must be reduced to a size which will make real teaching possible; the noble profession of the teacher must be made sufficiently dignified and attractive to draw into its service an army of men and women of the right types; physical, manual, and aesthetic training must be added to mere book-learning; every child of ability must be assured of obtaining the highest training which it can profitably absorb; and, since in many cases intellectual interests develop tardily, there must be a generous system of adult or adolescent education available for all who desire it." The rather rigid standardization which now affects English education must give way to the "utmost possible variety and elasticity of method."

Liberalism is not content merely to secure the best possible conditions of freedom; it also sets as its goal the establishment of conditions of economic prosperity. It is here, perhaps that the program will appear to American readers most novel and significant. The present industrial system is viewed as essentially defective. Liberalism looks forward to the creation of one in which each worker will enjoy a fair share of the product of his toil; will have access to trustworthy knowledge concerning the working of the industry, in order to make sure of this; and be secure from unemployment. A system of shop councils, of general trades' councils, and a National Industrial Council are contemplated as parts of the mechanism of industrial organization. This scheme, which follows rather closely the plan provided by the Constitution of the German Republic, rests upon the idea that the problems of industry can only effectively be solved by those who are directly engaged in it. The National Industrial Council, composed of representatives of employers and employees, would have only investigational and advisory powers; laws would still have to be enacted by Parliament. But its

recommendations would carry great weight on any question affecting industry. Democracy would thus function through an occupational representation as well as through a system of geographical constituencies. The basal industries of transportation and mining must come even more completely under government control. The proposal as to the mines involves government ownership and private operation, under a system of leases through which the state would exercise an effective regulation over the hours and conditions of labor, and determine the proportionate shares which labor and capital should obtain from the profits of the industry.

Such a program as outlined by Mr. Muir would, ten years ago, have been generally characterized as socialism. In America, today, it would be widely denounced as dangerously radical. Yet it emanates not from the most extreme section of English opinion. The Labor party, now in control of the government, finds it altogether too moderate. Both the Republican and Democratic parties in the United States occupy positions far to the right of English Liberalism. Two-thirds of Englishmen, were they to come to this country, would find themselves without any congenial party affiliations unless they cared to join the Socialist, or Farmer Labor Party.

WALTER JAMES SHEPARD.

Washington University.

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ANCIENT MAN IN BRITAIN. By Donald A. MacKenzie, with Foreword by G. Elliott Smith, F.R.S. xii—257 pp, xvii pls. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1923.

Ancient man is a subject that has many approaches; it is a vortex towards which are carried able men in many related fields, and each leaves his contribution often very helpful especially to students in the field from which the author himself momentarily emerged. Geologists, paleontologists, zoologists, surgeons, classicists, and folk-lorists have all tried their hand with varying degrees of success and all have had a following; so that interest in the antiquity of man is greater at present than it ever was before.

As author of "Egyptian Myth and Legend," "Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe," and "Color Symbolism," Mr. Mackenzie approaches the subject of ancient man from the side of mythology and folk-lore. The prehistoric archeologists

who wish to know more about these two subjects would do well to read Mackenzie's "Ancient Man in Britain"; on the other hand, to those who want to know more about man's organic and cultural evolution, the work may prove to be disappointing. The first chapter, "Britons of the Stone Age," seems to ignore everything earlier than the Neolithic. The Paleolithic does appear, however, in the second chapter, "Earliest Traces of Modern Man." The Piltdown discoveries are dismissed with about three lines; two of these occur in the third chapter which is devoted largely to Aurignacian man, especially the skeleton found at Paviland (Wales). The author classes Mousterian as Lower Paleolithic and is inclined to believe that the horse was domesticated in Paleolithic times, a view not supported by the evidence.

A good deal of space is rightly devoted to Britain's trade connections with the continents of Europe and Africa, which are discussed under such chapter headings as "Shell Deities and Early Trade," "Ancient Mariners Reach Britain," "Neolithic Trade and Industries," "Metal Workers and Megalithic Monuments," and "Celts and Iberians as Intruders and Traders." In this connection the author believes that the canoe found embedded in silt of the river Clyde twenty-five feet above the present sea-level, may have been left there by Azilian traders; it had a plug of cork which could have come only from Italy, southern France, or Spain.

The author does not care for the system of prehistoric classification now in general use; he would scrap such terms as "Paleolithic," "Neolithic," and "Bronze" and "Iron Ages." For the first he would substitute "Pre-Agricultural Age" with two sub-divisions: (A) Reindeer Age with Aurignacian, Solutrean, and Magdalenian industries; (B) Early Red-Deer Age with Azilian, Tardenoisian, and Maglemosian industries. His "Early Agricultural Age" would indicate: (A) Pre-Celtic Age with Neolithic, copper, and bronze industries; (B) Celtic Age with bronze, iron, and enamel industries. Finally his "Romano-British Age" would link prehistoric with the historic. The author does not seem to be aware of the fact that representations of the red deer have been found in more paleolithic stations than have those of the reindeer; and representations of the horse occur in more stations than do those of the red deer. Why not the "Equidian Age," therefore,

instead of the "Reindeer Age." This new system apparently leaves entirely out of account the ages which preceded the Upper Paleolithic: Eolithic, Pre-Chellean, Chellean, Archeulian, and Moustertian—unless perchance the author intends to retain these despite the fact of their being based on lithic industry.

GEORGE GRANT MACCURDY.

Yale University.

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TWO PORTUGUESE COMMUNITIES IN NEW ENGLAND. By Donald R. Taft. *Columbia Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*. Volume cvii, No. 1. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1923, 357 pp. \$2.50.

In this research of Professor Taft we find an original contribution of unusual merit showing a many-sided approach which if applied to all of the immigrant groups in the United States would give the basis for a much more intelligent program in regard to matters of immigration and assimilation. The author stresses the need of studies of the problems of special nationalities and says, "The Portuguese are worthy of study then as a group which complicates important social problems, as a neglected nationality, and as a people apparently differing somewhat in race as well as in mores."

The discussion in the second chapter, which treats of racial composition, hinges around the problem of the degree of negro blood that is mixed with the Mediterranean stock. Evidence is presented to show that there have been four injections of blood of this darker race and it is hinted that it may have been the darker elements that went to make up the population on the islands. Among the islanders an early introduction of Flemish stock gives rise to two types, the Fayalese and the Portugeuse of St. Michaels. With the former group is associated a better social and economic condition. The significant conclusion of the chapter is that the Portuguese in America are not a homogeneous racial stock.

The third chapter on the continental and island background is made up in considerable part of quotations from travelers and men of letters interspersed with statistics where they are available and, so tempered, the chapter has both interest and scientific value. It is shown that the Portuguese peasant class is poor, often miserably so, and that, while they have a favorable climate their standard of living is of the lowest. They are

devout although their religious ideas are somewhat associated with superstition. Recreation is limited and semi-religious in character and they are "grossly ignorant, illiterate, often lacking in a desire for education, although not unintelligent." "Perhaps the Portuguese may be characterized as an industrious, simple-minded, ignorant people of kindly but somewhat melancholy disposition."

The fifth chapter is one of the most interesting in the whole book and shows a penetrating analysis of the complex factors affecting infant mortality. Its extent for the Portuguese is shown to be shocking, mounting to two hundred or more depending on conditions. The question is raised as to whether the presence of negro blood could be proven the cause. Since other nationalities may show a higher rate than the negro and the negro rates vary, this hypothesis was discarded as being not proved. Likewise membership in the Mediterranean race is discarded as an explanation in view of the low mortality of the Italians. Length of residence was found to cause a decline but not so marked as might have been expected. There is a great amount of illiteracy and it is correlated with the high infant mortality as is inability to speak English. The employment of the mother is thought to be an effective cause, as is also the improper spacing of pregnancies. The point most stressed, however, is the personal factor of low grade understanding which seemed to underlie many of the other conditions.

In chapter six an intensive study is made of the communities in Portsmouth and Fall River with respect to population, opportunity, climate, contact with Americans and achievement, economic, social and educational. The Portuguese are shown to be typical unskilled laborers, but with some tendency towards improvement in their standard of living. The children leave the grades early, have lower marks than their associates and use the public library but little. It is claimed that for these people conditions are better than in their home land, but for the localities in which they have settled they are a liability rather than an asset although a capacity for saving is shown and they may improve in the future.

A dominant note in the entire book is the unanswered question as to whether the social inadequacy shown is due to lack of native intelligence or to environmental causes. The author mentions

the army tests but the correlation of score with length of residence, contrary to Brigham's interpretation is taken to mean that the tests are not a perfect indication of native intelligence. Such a critical attitude is of course desirable yet the tests as used by Professor Young¹ seem to show a decided inferiority of the Portuguese of California even under controlled environmental conditions. The research of Professor Taft is well written and readable and it should be invaluable to social workers and others who come into contact with the Portuguese. Its interest to all students of social science should be considerable, not only for the valuable material presented, but as a model of careful, fair-minded, thorough applications of the scientific method to the factors underlying the problems of assimilation and immigration.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK.

Brown University.

* * *

THE JEWS IN AMERICA. By Burton Hendrick. New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1923, 171 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. Hendrick has written a book that will be widely read. While stressing Americanism it is a book with no racial bias in the midst of a literature that shows little else.

The striking feature of the first chapter is the recognition of three types of Jew. The first to arrive were the refugees from persecution in Spain where they had been a class rich and well educated. There and elsewhere they produced men of achievement. Next came the German Jew, of a coarser type, active in business, but not a slum-dweller. Following 1881 came the Polish Jew who constitutes the vast majority of the three million Jews in this country.

The second chapter denies that the Jews dominate American finance. The myth of a Jewish plot to seize power is attacked and it is pointed out that such a myth is an undue compliment to the organizing capacity of the Jew which is almost nil due to innate individualism. "The individualistic trading instinct of the Jew is not the result of fortuitous circumstances; it is inherent in the very germ-plasm of the race." In view of the race mixture admitted by Hendrick it must be a human rather than a Jewish trait. In intelligence it is claimed that the Jews are not superior,

lack creative faculty and fail to produce the higher forms of genius.

The third chapter deals with the "menace" of the Polish Jew. On the authority of Fishberg the bulk of Polish Jews are traced in descent from the Khazars of the eighth century, a people of Turanian or Mongol stock who adopted Judaism. They were never assimilated, spoke Yiddish, and in America they are the same ritual-bound slum-dwellers. They exploit each other in the clothing sweatshops and tend to be profit-takers rather than producers.

In the last chapter it is denied that all Jews are anti-patriotic but evidence is presented to show that the Polish Jews are often internationalistic socialists. They subscribe to the Vorwärts which is socialistic and "The triumph of Marxism means the destruction of every principle upon which the American state rests . . ." It is hinted that the Jewish socialists opposed the war. They gave support to the anti-patriotic Hillquit and form the backbone of the radical Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Yet on the other hand it is admitted that the Polish Jew is too individualistic to be a good socialist, that Liberty Bonds were purchased and that the Seventy-Ninth Division did its part.

The book is of the popular variety, Americanism is axiomatic, problems of health, crime, pauperism, mental defect, receive no treatment, yet in a limited field an illuminating contribution has been made.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK.

Brown University.

* * *

THE NEIGHBORHOOD IN NATION BUILDING: THE RUNNING COMMENT OF THIRTY YEARS AT SOUTH END HOUSE. By Robert A. Woods. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923, viii, 348 pp. \$3.00.

This volume is not, what its name might imply, a study of the place of the neighborhood in the nation, but rather a collection of the occasional papers and addresses prepared by Mr. Woods from 1891 to 1923, all of them grouped about the theme of the local community, as it is seen through settlement windows. While no attempt is made to state formally the philosophy of the social settlement in American cities, one gets a running comment on the development of that philosophy, which is far more enlightening than a well-worked out thesis. The reader glimpses the settle-

¹ Kimball Young, "Mental Differences in Certain Immigrant Groups." University of Oregon Publication, Vol. I, No. 11, July, 1922.

ment ideas and ideals in the making, notices the change of emphasis from time to time, sees the false starts and the recoveries, and he feels that there has been a continuous and intelligent attempt to understand a social problem and to meet a social need: the need of reciprocal understanding between various classes of society.

Few writers are better qualified to express settlement ideals than Robert Woods. A graduate of Amherst College, a resident at Toynbee Hall with Canon Barnett in 1890, and since 1891 head resident of South End House, Boston, a prolific writer and speaker, and a prominent participant in the social developments of Boston and latterly of the nation, he speaks as one who knows. The chronological arrangement of these addresses is helpful to the reader. Naturally the subjects treated are of very unequal interest. The earlier group, *The University Settlement Idea*; *University Settlements as Laboratories of Social Science*, *University Settlements, Their Point and Drift*, and the papers prepared during the last few years such as *The Settlement Reconsidered in Relation to Other Neighborhood Agencies*, and *The Settlements' Foothold of Opportunity*, seem to the present reviewer far more worth while than such detailed treatments of settlement technique as the chapters dealing with *Twenty-one Kinds of Visiting*, *The White Mountain Caddies*, etc. Between these extremes there is a great variety of interest and importance in the papers presented. To the special student of social settlement methods practically all the papers would be of interest, some purely from the historical point of view, others full of practical suggestion. There is plenty of philosophy and philosophizing, as might be expected from a dyed-in-the-wool Bostonian. In the beginning there is much of the juvenile optimism which characterized the age of Roosevelt, but toward the end the author is forced to face the hard facts of reality. One of the interesting characteristics of a book made up in this manner, is that the reader is able to trace such changes and developments.

The section of war-time papers and addresses is perhaps the least satisfactory of all. So much of this material was ephemeral and due to the "high resolves" produced under the stimulus of the war emergency, that it might well have been

omitted in a collection of this nature. The Regimentation of the Free, the author's presidential address before the National Conference of Social Work, in Kansas City in 1918, is particularly objectionable. Its publication may have one justification, however. It shows that even the wisest of us are as apt to be deluded, to be drawn into the current, and to make some sort of adjustment by which we attempt to preserve our fundamental philosophy and at the same time "run with the pack." Lest the reviewer should be thought to be sitting in judgment he might add that he heard and heartily applauded *The Regimentation of the Free*, in 1918 in Kansas City, where during the same week one of the few unregimented free was prevented from discussing the causes of the war in a public meeting.

For college teachers of sociology and social psychology the paper on *Childhood Neighborhood Reminiscence in Sociological Training* is suggestive. The use of such data as a basis for studies of the normal community is recommended to the college instructor; it would help supply the lack of tangible material dealing with healthy community life. Mr. Woods puts his finger on a very real weakness in college teaching of sociology when he says: "There is reason to believe that the strong inclination of much college teaching toward the various aspects of degeneracy is because material with regard to it, especially in statistical form, is so much more substantial, available, and negotiable than data about efforts beginning with relatively normal life and working toward a better order."

For the student of social work and particularly of neighborhood movements, Mr. Wood's record of thirty years is not only worth reading, but worth owning, as it offers light from long experience on problems which to the neighborhood worker are perennial. As a source book for university courses in social technique it should serve a valuable purpose also, and for the general reader it presents the changing picture of the attempts at class adjustments in local neighborhoods as seen by a thoughtful individual deeply concerned in this development—not an unworthy contribution to American social history.

ROBERT C. DEXTER.

Skidmore College.

GERMANY'S CAPACITY TO PAY. By H. G. Moulton and E. C. McGuire. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1923, xiii, 384 pp. \$2.50.

This first volume issued by the Institute of Economics, which was organized more than a year ago by the Carnegie Corporation "with the sole object of ascertaining the facts about current economic problems and of interpreting these facts for the people of the United States in the most simple and understandable form, admirably fulfills the purpose thus set forth. Anyone who will go through this little volume carefully will know all that is knowable at present about Germany's capacity to pay; and he will not need to feel disappointed because M. Poincaré prevented the investigation that England and our own government wanted to undertake last fall. If, too, the present commission headed by Gen. Dawes should push its work beyond the functions assigned to it and undertake to ascertain Germany's economic position—which is equivalent to her capacity to pay—they will hardly discover anything substantially different from the findings of Moulton and McGuire. For their book throws a flood of light upon Germany's economic condition and lays bare every point essential to a complete understanding of the whole reparations problem.

The world is full of illusions in regard to that problem, but Moulton and McGuire attack and dispel them one after the other by simply setting forth the facts in each case, by showing the erroneous assumptions upon which many of those illusions rest. Hence from beginning to end of their volume we hear the crack of exploding fallacies.

One of the most important fallacies exploded concerns Germany's present national wealth. While some of our newspapers are still asserting that "Germany's wealth is still there," our authors show that it was reduced by the war to hardly more than 125 billion gold marks, as compared with 300 to 320 marks in 1914. They arrive at this low figure by capitalizing at the sum mentioned the gross earnings of the German people in 1921, which amounted to only 17 billions. But if Germany's wealth is only 125 billions it is manifest that the 136 billions demanded as reparations is a sheer absurdity. Moreover the reports brought back by travellers regarding present German prosperity are decidedly negated by the statement of our authors that the Germans are

living on only three-fifths of their normal consumption.

Furthermore, the fanciful estimates of German balances kept in foreign banks are shown to be vastly exaggerated. French estimates of those sums run as high as 16 billion marks; but our authors quote the estimates of Sir Robert Horne, Reginald McKenna and J. M. Keynes, which range between one and 4 billion gold marks,—sums hardly greater than needed for keeping Germany's import trade going normally. For how could the Germans accumulate abroad the huge sums imagined, in view of their passive balance of trade and other payments due to foreigners? They came through the war with a passive balance of 15 billions; and during the four years following the war it continued very heavy. Total payments abroad upon trade balance, clearing operations in settling pre-war debts, and cash reparations payments amounted by the end of 1922 to 12,800 millions marks. Per contra, our authors show that Germany's export of capital for purposes of investment during the period just prior to the war averaged only about 400 million marks a year; and they add that, if there had been no returns on such investments, Germany could not have exported more than about 200 million marks annually over long periods. That was when Germany was in the heyday of prosperity. If those figures are correct Moulton and McGuire are well within the truth when they say that in the year 1913, when exports were exceptionally large, Germany could have paid less than half of the annual reparation stipulated by the London agreement of 1921.

Laying down the self-evident proposition that Germany can only pay in goods—in other words, with goods exported in excess of imports—the writers apply this principle in exploding various specious methods of payments that have been put forward as substitutes. Payments in cash—that is, with coin or bullion—are emphatically set down as a "myth." Germany has no gold, and even if she should exceed in forcing exports to exceed imports she could only deliver to the allied governments bills of foreign exchange representing such surplus; but the countries receiving these bills could only realize upon them by turning them over to their own citizens, who would use them in paying for imported goods. This principle is also applied to various forms of surrogate pay-

ments, like having Germany deliver to the Allies a certain proportion of shares or bonds of joint-stock companies, or by having foreigners acquire property in Germany. In all these cases the original difficulty is not removed; for payments from Germany to the foreign holders of German stocks, bonds, or property titles would equally have to be made in goods and received in goods. Nor would this difficulty be removed if Germany were able to borrow money from the United States for paying the Allies, as was so long seriously proposed by the allied governments. Nor is this difficulty removed by the Allies going into Germany to "seize productive guarantees," as France and Belgium have done in the Ruhr; for any moneys thus exported are paid in marks and can only be realized in France and Belgium through purchases of French and Belgian exchange.

Moulton and McGuire also take up the question of how much Germany has already paid and illuminate it in a way that outsiders who have followed only the reports of the Reparations Commission would not have expected. Taking the figures of such payments as published by the commission down to January 31, 1923, giving a total of 8,006 million marks, they compare them with the claim of the Germans that they had paid 44,700 millions by September 30, 1922, and ask how the great discrepancy arises. They find that it was due to three causes: (1) the commission was dilatory in appraising and crediting property turned over, whereas the German government was up-to-date in its accounts; (2) the Germans included some items which, though representing real losses to them, do not fall legally under reparations; (3) and most important of all, the commission only credited Germany with the value received for property when sold at auction (in some cases one or two years after delivery), while Germany claimed credit at the value when delivered. After sifting the accounts thoroughly and partly taking account of this unjustifiable valuation of German property, our authors find that the total of German payments down to the date specified was between 25 and 26 billion marks. That amounts to a striking refutation of the assertion so often put forward—particularly in France—that the Germans have paid practically nothing. The amount is more than 6-fold the indemnity exacted from France by Germany in

1871. The authors make, by the way, an interesting diversion to show that France still owes her own citizens four-fifths of the sum paid to Germany fifty years ago.

The large payments already made were drawn from capital resources in one form or other—selling the remnants of German foreign investments, selling German securities, urban property and particularly marks to foreigners. But these sources cannot now be drawn upon again, and Germany is without liquid resources. And "the process of compelling Germany to pay," say our authors, "when she has no international credit balance . . . is analogous to forcing complete liquidation upon a temporarily insolvent debtor. A little more juice may be squeezed out by the process—and then the end."

Illusions regarding German finances, taxation, and foreign trade possibilities are also exploded. Instead of Germany having neglected to levy new taxes and collecting them, our authors find that the actual revenues of 1921 equalled 23 per cent of the national income—a figure considerably higher than that of France and much larger than our own; and they add in regard to the German taxes in the spring of 1923: "It seems plain that the German tax system . . . reaches every phase of individual human activity." Also in regard to the frequently heard charge that the government has been wasting the public revenues they say: "It is difficult to see how expenses could have been greatly reduced."

In a thoroughgoing discussion of Germany's foreign trade as bearing on the reparations problem the authors make it appear well-nigh impossible that Germany should pay any further sums for a long time. They figure that her imports must reach 14 billions gold marks to meet the country's normal demands, and exports 20 billions to leave an adequate surplus for meeting reparations payments; but this means to increase imports $2\frac{1}{2}$ -fold and exports 5-fold. They also show the absurdity of the contention that the German government deliberately inflated the currency in order to bankrupt the country and make reparations payments impossible; and they equally reject the further charge that the big business men forced the inflation in order to enrich themselves, for "the plain truth is that German business interests have grown poorer along with everybody else." Nor do the authors find much

force in the fact, so often pointed out by superficial observers, that Germany still has intact her whole economic equipment,—factories, railways, banks, farms; and that the great financiers and managers who made pre-war Germany are still alive. They dispose of this contention by showing that Spain and Switzerland also still possess all those advantages; and yet they have had great business depression since the war. Also England has all her economic equipment and the men to run it; but unemployment there is one of the grave economic phenomena of the time.

Moulton and McGuire have set no definite annual sum that Germany can pay, they say, "for the simple reason that it is utterly impossible for anyone to know whether . . . Germany will be able to develop any export surplus." And as they rightly point out the Germans themselves do not know a particle more about that possibility than anyone else. They do not doubt that Germany has done all in her power to expand exports; but in view of the magnitude of the problem of creating any export surplus at all, besides the uncertainty regarding the further policy of the allied governments towards Germany, they do not look upon the future as warranting any great hopes.

WM. C. DREHER.

Amherst, Mass.

* * *

CO-OPERATIVE DEMOCRACY. ATTAINED THROUGH VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION OF THE PEOPLE AS CONSUMERS. By James Peter Warbasse. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923, 493 pp. \$3.50.

In this elaborate work, the president of the Co-operative League of America presents in comprehensive form the fruits of his many years of study and experience in the field of social problems. The work is far from being an academic treatise; for it is a product of protracted striving toward reality on the part of a practical professional man confronted with the overwhelming problems of modern life as they present themselves to one with a genuine interest in the largest meaning of human welfare. Dr. Warbasse has come to his present conclusions, not off-hand, but by the way of a busy career in the field of medicine and public health and after due investigation of the various political and industrial movements that aspire to transform modern society. When he writes of Socialism or Industrial Unionism, he

is writing as one who knows these movements from the inside, but, dissatisfied with what they hold in prospect, has passed on to a further propaganda.

The work under review is distinctly a propaganda work. It breathes limitless enthusiasm for the evangel to which the author has dedicated his life. Even though it presents in encyclopedic range the significance of kindred movements as they appear to the one who is above all things a coöperator, the story is undoubtedly biased by extreme devotion to a hobby. Thus he thinks of people primarily as consumers and does not make sufficient allowance for the fact that under normal conditions production is at least as high a form of self-realization as consumption can possibly be. He too readily assumes, also, that because all people are consumers, therefore a union of consumers can be a comprehensive solidarity, avoiding class struggle and obviating the need of cataclysmic revolution. It ought to be brought to attention that the only consumers likely to rally *en masse* to a movement for a better social order are those with whom consumption constitutes a serious economic problem. It is hardly likely that the wealthy will rally to a movement that proposes to supersede the system of business for private profit, even though such a movement purports to be a movement of consumers irrespective of class.

In his indictment of the present economic system, Dr. Warbasse can count on the support of Socialists and Industrialists, and indeed he may presume that they will lend considerable backing to his movement. He can indeed support the socialist movement as a protest against capitalism and as a battle for control of the political state. He is unwilling, however, that the industrial system of the commonwealth should be in the hands of government, or even in the hands of labor organizations. He does not want to see a coercive, political organization of the economic and social life; neither does he want to see affairs administered from the point of view of narrow industrial groups, each bent on promoting its own interests. Rather he would have industry and society pass into the hands of a voluntary, coöperative organization of federated consumers. He thinks that the interests of the workers in each particular industry can be safeguarded by proper arrangements, and is not greatly disturbed by the

fact that serious strikes of employees in British coöperatives do occur. "The British worker in the coöperative movement who strikes for higher wages than are paid in the same competing profit-industry is sabotaging his labor movement."

"Coöperative Democracy" is divided into five books: I. The Philosophy, the Principles, and the Trend of Coöperation; II. Coöperation and the State; III. Coöperation and Profit-making Business; IV. Coöperation in Relation to the Various Labor Movements; V. Accomplishments of Coöperation. The average American would be astonished at the magnitude of the movement described, which, beginning only eighty years ago with a few dollars and a handful of men now counts its members by the tens of millions, its annual business by the billions of dollars, its savings returns to members by the hundreds of millions. The movement is exhibited as an inclusive social movement providing for every type of human need. Beginning with retail stores it proceeds to the establishment of wholesales; then to factories; thence to plantations, farms, mines. With the savings accumulated, community houses and social centers are provided as well as medical attention, insurance, and all manner of services customarily associated among us with private philanthropy. The whole movement is set forth as an exhibit in organic democracy, whereby the services of trained experts are made available to the people on equitable terms, so that coöperative industry is able to procure efficiency and success without paying tribute to private profit-makers.

The philosophy underlying the book is anarchistic as contrasted with socialistic thought. The coöperative movement does not depend on coercion, whether by the state or by labor militancy. It has faith in the power of voluntary association to transcend and supersede the cruder and more belligerent forms of social organization. Its spirit is international and conciliatory. Nevertheless it has the power to fight when necessary to protect itself against unfair treatment at the hands of the capitalistic state, as is illustrated by the formation of the Coöperative Party in Great Britain. Dr. Warbasse, however, is indisposed to favor such political partisanship.

The main question left in the mind of the critical reader of this book is this: Granting the essential reasonableness of the coöperative movement and the historic evidence of its power to

organize industry effectively on a non-profit basis, even in the face of strong capitalist competition, is it likely to take large enough hold of an essentially unreasonable world, particularly in an epoch of colossal national and international trusts, to mediate a gradual and peaceable transition from the present economic and social chaos to a coöperative commonwealth of the world, as its sponsors dream; or will it at best be ancillary to political and industrial struggle of labor toward a democratic social order?

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN.

Brookwood College.

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RURAL CHILD WELFARE. An Inquiry by the National Child Labor Committee Under the Direction of Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922, 353 pp. \$3.00.

A study of rural children living in West Virginia financed by interested citizens of the state was made in 1921. "Its findings and recommendations apply especially to West Virginia but neither the conditions found nor the problems discussed are confined to any one state.

The introductory chapter by Edward N. Clopper sums up the drawbacks of country life in West Virginia. His conclusion is that a child welfare program is as essential in the country as in the city.

Chapter I. "The Rural Home" by Charles E. Gibbons is far too statistical and lacks descriptive material, thereby failing to give a clear picture of rural homes or rural home life.

Chapter II. "Child Labor on Farms" by Walter A. Armentrant begins with statistics of incidence of rural child labor in the United States and describes the part taken by children in various types of specialized farm work such as haying, care of live stock, etc. Concrete illustrations are used to contrast the educational value of the "farm project method" with sheer exploitation of children by their parents.

Chapter III. "Rural School Attendance" by Gertrude H. Falbs is the best chapter. She states that "60 per cent of the 4,529 children 7 to 16 years of age were retarded; 25 per cent normal; 15 per cent advanced." The short school term, irregular attendance, poorly prepared and poorly paid teachers, as well as an actual teacher shortage accounted for this retardation. The school plant, poorly located, unsanitary, badly lighted,

with no play space, often with no washing facilities or toilets (75 schools were in this category); with polluted water supply; with no equipment; with a curriculum dead or ill-adapted to rural needs is the depressing picture she gives of rural schools of today in West Virginia.

Chapter IV. "Rural Recreation" by Raymond G. Fuller begins with a preachment regarding the theory of play, entwined later by illustrations of the cost to society of lack of recreation. The attitude of many a farmer towards play is held accountable for the barrenness of rural existence and for the exodus of the young people to the city.

Chapter V. "Rural Child Dependency, Neglect and Delinquency" by Sara A. Brown is a vivid narrative of the condition of some 804 dependent rural children. "Poor relief is niggardly and often given with a reproof; mothers' pensions are inadequate; too often no records of the percentage or social disposition of a child are kept; many children are simply absorbed into 'hit-or-miss' homes of relatives and neighbors; some are inmates of almshouses, associating there with old and diseased people; some are 'bound out'." The problem of juvenile delinquency is complicated by inadequate court procedure, often necessitating the temporary housing of delinquents in jails and almshouses. No effort to prevent delinquency is evident; wholesome recreation is utterly lacking. The need of a country social worker to take care of the dependent and delinquent rural children is convincingly put.

Chapter VI. "Taxation and the Child" by Hattie L. Hazlett presents the theory of taxation and principles governing administration of public funds. The conclusion drawn is that "West Virginia is not spending its funds expediently for the benefit of its children" (p. 259).

Chapter VII. "The Child and the State" by W. H. Swift is divided into two parts: "Law" (a digest of laws regarding marriage, divorce and care of dependent children), and "Administration" showing the functioning of the four state departments caring for children (namely, the Departments of Health, Education, Labor and Child Welfare) with a summary of suggested changes for enlarging their scope, especially that of the State Board of Children's Guardians, and for eliminating the present overlapping. The appendix gives tables showing the economic and

social status of the families studied in Chapter I through V.

Altogether the method employed of publishing in a single volume the reports of several specialists on various aspects of rural child welfare in West Virginia is excellent. Chapter III and V are especially to be commended to a student of rural social conditions.

ELSA BUTLER GROVE.

Smith College School for Social Work.

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PSYCHOANALYSIS AND GLAND PERSONALITIES. By André Tridon. New York: Brentano, ix, 253 pp.

Because of the traditional injunction to speak well of the dead, the reviewing of this book must be an ungrateful task, since it involves the violation of either this principle or the desire to tell the truth as the reviewer sees it. We do not all see truth alike, to be sure, but Tridon does not even impress us as the earnest seeker after truth. His last book, like so many of his writings, is but the patching together of excerpts from the discoveries of others, who, if they read his patchwork, must often be aghast at his interpretations. He has a penchant for selecting speculative phrases and quoting them with an air of final authority which is dismaying to the scientifically trained mind, which realizes that modern discoveries concerning the glands and concerning personality are of vast import, but which also realizes that we have much to learn of these matters, and that our further information may alter materially the theories which were promulgated on the basis of our initial findings.

The type of mind made famous by Don Marquis in his delicious satire of "Hermione" and her "little group of serious thinkers" will undoubtedly be intrigued by Tridon's chapter headings, and like the aforesaid Hermione, can be expected to exclaim, "How did I ever live so long without glands!" Consider the following: The internal secretions and the glands; the gonads or sex glands; gonads and virility; the thyroid gland or the gland of emotion; the pituitary gland or the gland of growth; the adrenals or the glands of pugnacity; the thymus, the parathyroids and the pineal gland; diet and the glands; glandular interaction; temperament and the glands; psychoanalysis, Couéism and the glands; how the glands affect appearance; feeble-mindedness and delinquency; danger ages; the glands, longevity and

death. The subheadings are even more sensational than these chapter titles; in proof of which glance at these examples: The doctors of matrimony; climate, the glands and murder; the tomato the ideal food; goitre and onions, etc, etc.

To go into further detail concerning the book would profit little. Despite what the reviewers say, it will probably be read by curious laymen, dispersing misinformation, and decried by the scientific group until its brief day of popularity is over.

PHYLLIS BLANCHARD.

Clinic No. 1, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Los Angeles, Cal.

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A CONSTRUCTIVE IMMIGRATION POLICY. By Maurice R. Davie. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923, 46 pp.

"Our various immigration laws have in a large measure been the result of group-interests impressed upon Congress." In this short sentence Professor Davie summarizes the history of our immigration legislation for the past forty years. It is due mainly to this conflict of class interests reflected in Congressional action that after a generation of experimentation we have not yet reached a constructive solution of the immigration problem.

In view of the fact that the question of immigration legislation has, for the most part, been the subject of a great mass of propaganda, a concise statement of the social elements involved is highly in order. The brevity of Professor Davie's statement should commend it to the busy man of affairs, and it is this type of reader who is most in need of unbiased information on the topic.

There can be no quarrel with the author's statement regarding the necessity of developing tests that will insure an immigrant class of high mental, physical and moral attainments. Neither is there any question as to the need of a more efficient administration of the law. However, in view of the history of legislation in this country there can be small doubt but that the resulting restriction of immigration desired by Professor Davie would be "viewed with alarm" by our leading industrialists. Nothing is more humorously and delightfully inconsistent than the denouncing of immigrant labor as Bolshevistic and menacing

by the United States Steel Corporation at the time of a strike and depression, as in 1919-20, and their present agitation for unrestricted immigration. And there is something curious in a situation which brings together such strange bedfellows as Mr. Grace and the *New York Nation* in support of a removal of immigration restrictions.

W. C. WATERMAN.

Syracuse University.

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BOOK NOTES

THE BELIEF IN GOD AND IMMORTALITY. By James H. Leuba. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1922, xxviii, 333 pp.

This is a second edition of a work first published in 1916. It has a timely interest in view of the present controversy between the Modernists and the Fundamentalists, but it is a book quite worth reading on its own account. There is an excellent summary in three chapters of primitive beliefs regarding souls and immortality followed by three chapters dealing with modern conceptions of immortality. Part II gives the result of a statistical inquiry as to the extent of the belief in a personal God and personal immortality among college students and among scientists and scholars.

This part shows a decline in these beliefs as students advance from freshmen to seniors. As regards the scientists and scholars such results as the following were obtained: A distinctly smaller proportion of believers among the "greater" than among the "lesser"; a smaller proportion among biologists than among physicists; among those classed as "greater," 34.8 per cent of the physicists, 16.9 per cent of the biologists, 32.9 per cent of the historians, 19.4 per cent of the sociologists and 13.2 per cent of the psychologists admitted a belief in God; in the same order the percentages admitting a belief in immortality were for those classed as "greater": 40 per cent, 25.4 per cent, 35.3 per cent, 27.1 per cent, and 8.8 per cent. In general it seems clear that the biologists, sociologists and psychologists reveal the greatest penetration of their inner sanctuaries of thought and emotion by the logic of science. The percentages for those classed as "lesser" were greater in all groups. It would seem that those who deal most with material closest to the evidence for

these beliefs hold them least. Finally, there is no ground for supposing that the morality, optimism or social usefulness of those who have surrendered these ancient superstitions are less than those who still cling to them as the most essential bases for existence.

F. H. H.

Smith College.

ANGLO-SAXON AND JEW. JEWISH QUESTIONS OF THE DAY. By Louis L. Newman. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1923, 103 pp.

This is a brief pronouncement on some three dozen topics ranging from mysticism as an essential of religion to the question whether Jews should marry non-Jews. Though dedicated to liberals in belief the essays breathe throughout a strong desire to maintain the solidarity and exclusiveness of the Jewish community. "The modern mission of the Jew is to assume the moral leadership of the world." Jews should neither inter-marry nor join healing or ethical cults. "Jewish solidarity is desirable because it is the source of and foundation of Jewish idealism." If this be Jewish liberalism, then Catholicism is ultra-modernism. Why should people who insist with deeply religious and racial mysticism on being separate from the general community complain that the community sets them apart as a peculiar people? These essays are of no value in themselves but have a certain interest to the sociologist as reflecting the social attitudes of slightly emancipated Jewish opinion.

F. H. H.

MY DISILLUSIONMENT IN RUSSIA. By Emma Goldman. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1923, xx + 242 pp. \$2.00.

An absorbingly interesting story of the severe shocks which the faiths and ideals of the veteran anarchist received after coming in contact with the Bolshevik regime in Russia. Deported from America, in December, 1919, Emma Goldman clung tenaciously to her long-cherished dreams of the new Eutopia about to be realized in Russia. She surrendered to disillusionment only after months of continuous observation of persecution, injustice, popular degradation and other revelations of a ruthless autocracy. It is not a little amusing to have a book by the once highly disreputable and much reprobated anarchist published by

so respectable a house. Since the volume does not complete the story of her sojourn, one wonders whether we are to expect a second volume; and whether this story of disillusionment represents a literary appeal to American opinion preparatory to a judicial appeal for return to the relative paradise of capitalist America. Whether so or not, this apparently sincere and self-revealing volume throws a vivid light on the Russia of 1920 and 1921.

F. H. H.

THE SMALL FAMILY SYSTEM: IS IT INJURIOUS OR IMMORAL? By C. V. Drysdale. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1921, x, 196 pp.

This is a second edition of a very interesting and useful little book first issued in 1913. In addition to surveys of medical and clerical opinion on family restriction, it contains studies of all the arguments both for and against with the evidence therefor. The progress of Neo-Malthusianism in various countries is set forth in the next to the last chapter, while this last is devoted to a summary of the findings of the British National Commission on the Birth Rate. There are a num-

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ber of excellent charts of birth and death rates and infant mortality in various countries. While it is written from a propagandist viewpoint it is highly useful to any student of birth control which Bernard Shaw has pronounced the most revolutionary discovery in the history of man.

F. H. H.

THE MECHANISM OF MENDELIAN HEREDITY. By T. H. Morgan, A. H. Sturtevant, H. J. Muller, and C. D. Bridges. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Rev. Ed., 1923, 357 pp.

This is a revision of a book first published eight years earlier and limited to an exact and technical treatment of the subject indicated in the title. It is beautifully printed and well illustrated. Its contents and its extensive bibliography are doubtless too special to interest more than a very limited few among readers of this JOURNAL, but for those who wish to be informed about the basic principles upon which sound generalizations

regarding the biological aspects of social life must rest the book will repay careful study.

F. H. H.

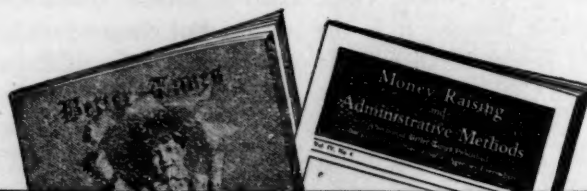
TRACK AND FIELD ATHLETICS. By Albert B. Wegener. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1924, 153 pp. \$2.00.

Has as sub-title: "A guide to athletes. A manual for coaches and directors. A text-book for normal students of physical training. Illustrated. F. H. H.

THE MEXICAN NATION: A HISTORY. By Herbert Ingram Priestly. New York: Macmillan, 1923, xxiii, 507 pp. \$4.00.

A clear and thorough political and diplomatic history of Mexico. The only adequate book of its type in English. Rather too brief on the contemporary period, and inferior to the recently published books of Jones, Ross and Beals as an account of contemporary conditions in Mexico.

H. E. B.



ANNOUNCEMENT

BETTER TIMES is now publishing a special bi-monthly section, "Money Raising and Administrative Methods," which will make available the advice of the leading experts on such subjects as—

- how to raise money
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On these and many other administrative problems of social agencies this section gives innumerable practical ideas, adaptable to your organization or institution, whether large or small, whether supported by government or contributed funds, whether in a community of 5,000 or one of 5,000,000.

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Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee.

GEORGIA:

Agnes Scott College, Decatur.

Emory University, Emory University.

Wesleyan College, Macon.

Georgia School of Technology, Atlanta.

KENTUCKY:

University of Kentucky, Lexington.

TEXAS:

University of Texas, Austin.

Agricultural & Mechanical College, College Station.

LOUISIANA:

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College, Baton Rouge.
Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans.

NORTH CAROLINA:

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Davidson College, Davidson.

East Carolina Training School, Greenville.

Elon College, Elon College.

North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro.

North Carolina State College of Agriculture & Engineering, Raleigh.

Meredith College, Raleigh.

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Converse College, Spartanburg.

Wofford College, Spartanburg.

TENNESSEE:

University of the South, Sewanee.

Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville.

University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga.

Educational Leadership

A Task of Cooperative Social Concern

MR. WILSON'S "common prudence" in the August *Atlantic* "that we should look about us and attempt to assess the causes of distress and the most likely means of removing them" constitutes a welcome challenge to southern institutions of learning.

To that end will be expected larger endowments and support for adequate faculty, adequate physical plants, comprehensive curricula, thinking student bodies, more fellowships and scholarships for the social studies.

MISSISSIPPI:

Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, Agricultural College.

University of Mississippi, University.

VIRGINIA:

University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Washington and Lee University, Lexington.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg.

Randolph-Macon College, Ashland.

Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College and Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg.

Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar.

THE ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLS

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE:

Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research.

SUSAN M. KINGSBURY, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Preparation for positions in Social Agencies, Social Institutions, Community Organizations, Manufacturing and Mercantile Industries, Organizations dealing with Industrial Problems, Social and Industrial Research. A Graduate School—One and Two Year Certificate. Degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy.

CARNEGIE INSTITUTE:

Margaret Morrison School, Department of Social Work.

MARY CLARK BURNETT, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Undergraduate courses leading to a degree of bachelor of science in social work, and graduate courses leading to a master's degree or the degree of bachelor of science. Students over 23 years of age may enroll for two years intensive professional training. All courses include supervised field work in cooperation with social agencies.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN:

Training for Social Work.

ARTHUR B. WOOD.

College and University Courses for Training Social Workers.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO:

Graduate School of Social Service Administration.

EDITH ABBOTT, Chicago, Ill.

A Graduate School offering courses leading to the Master's and Doctor's Degrees, organized on the quarter basis.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY:

Social Economics.

THEO JACOBS, Baltimore, Md.

Preparation for positions in social work. Affiliation with credited Baltimore social agencies. Affiliation with the Johns Hopkins Hospital in training for Hospital Social Service and Psychiatric work. College graduates after completing two years' course are candidates for a Master of Arts degree.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY:

Training Course for Social Workers.

U. G. WEATHERLY, Bloomington.

ROBERT E. NEFF, Indianapolis.

Courses in professional training for social work correlated with field work, in which unusual facilities are available under direct supervision of the faculty.

In view of the diversity of courses of instruction for training social workers and the variety of administrative systems under which the instruction is given—systems which include separate schools, graduate and undergraduate schools or departments of endowed colleges and universities and of state universities, as well as schools under the auspices of religious denominations and the apprentice and institute courses of national service organizations—the Executive Committee of the Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work considers it desirable to make at this time a statement of the fundamental principles underlying adequate professional education for social work. The Committee hopes that this statement may be a service to those who contemplate the establishment of new schools, as well as to those concerned with the determination of policies for the existing schools.

1. Data collected from social workers and special investigations that have been made recently show clearly that the most satisfactory preparation for social work is that which is conducted on a broad basis of professional education. Preparation of this character utilizes the technical contributions of allied professions, requires unity and continuity of instruction and is contingent upon centralized responsibility of direction and administration.

2. It is highly desirable, in order to meet these requirements, that a school offering preparation for social work should approximate the following specific organization, whether as an educational unit it be separate from, affiliated with, or constitute a part of a larger educational institution:

A. An organic grouping of relevant courses of instruction into a special curriculum for the stated purpose of vocational training or professional education for social work.

B. These grouped courses of instruction should consist, in general, of four types:

(1) *Background of pre-professional courses*, to be given by a regular member or members of the faculty in good academic standing.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY:

Sociology.

JOSEPH SEIDENBERG, Chicago, Ill.

A two year training course for social work, with facilities for field work.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI:

Missouri School of Social Economy.

GEORGE B. MANGOLD, St. Louis, Mo.

Public health nursing, medical social service, psychiatric social work, family treatment and social case work, community organization and field work.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA:

Course for Social and Civic Work.

F. STUART CHAPIN, Minneapolis, Minn.

Four and five year courses in social case work, group work, medical social work, rural social work, leading to B. S. and A. M. degrees.

NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK:

PORTER R. LEE, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

A two year's course of training, scheduled on the four quarter plan. Departments include: Industry, Social Research, Community Organization, Criminology, and Social Case Work, which includes Family Case Work, Child Welfare, Mental Hygiene and Hospital Social Work. Conducts summer sessions.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC SERVICE SCHOOL:

Founded and maintained by the National Council of Catholic Women. 2400—19th St., Washington, D. C.

MISS ANNE M. NICHOLSON, Director (on leave).

WILLIAM J. KERBY, Acting Director.

Two year basic course open to college graduates and others who give satisfactory proof of equivalent training and capacity. Affiliated to the Catholic University of America which confers the M.A. degree upon students who satisfy the requirements set by the University.

Social Case Work, Medical Social Service, Community Problems, Public Health, Leisure Time Activities, Sociology, Ethics, Economics, Psychology.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA:

School of Public Welfare.

HOWARD W. ODUM, Chapell Hill, N. C.

Primarily a graduate school with one and two year courses looking toward social work in town and country. Social case work, community organization and recreation, psychiatric social work, social research, field work. Correlated with other social science departments. Master's Degree and certificate.

OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORK

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY:

Department of Social Work, College of Commerce and Journalism.

JAMES E. HAGERTY, Columbus, Ohio. 1

Four year undergraduate courses in Social Administration, Family and Child Welfare, Penology, Recreation, Community Organization, Americanization and Industry. A year's graduate course leading to the A. M. degree is given.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON:

School of Social Work.

PHILIP A. PARSONS, Portland, Oregon.

Special training offered in Family Case Work, Delinquency, Abnormal Psychology, Child Welfare, Medical Social Work and Public Health Nursing.

PENNSYLVANIA:

School of Social and Health Work.

KENNETH L. M. PRAY, Philadelphia, Pa.

Courses in Family Welfare, Child Welfare Educational Guidance, Medical Social Work, Psychiatric Social Work, Community Social Work, Community Organization and Recreation Social Research, Public Health.

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK AND PUBLIC HEALTH:

H. H. HIBBS, JR., Richmond, Va.

Affiliated with the College of William and Mary. Three groups of courses: I. Social Case Work, II. Recreation, Playground and Community Work, III. Public Health Nursing.

SIMMONS COLLEGE:

School of Social Work, Boston, Mass.

MRS. EVA WHITING WHITE.

Full courses for professional training in Hospital Social Work—Family Welfare—Children's Work—Psychiatric Social Work—Rural Community Work—Community Organization—Industry—Research—Court Work. Write for a Bulletin.

- (2) *Specific knowledge courses*, providing a broad scientific equipment for social work, to be given by specialists in good professional standing outside the field of social work.
 - (3) *Technical knowledge courses*, dealing with special branches of social work, together with clinical field work, to be given by one or more social workers eligible for senior membership in the American Association of Social Workers, with adequate academic qualifications for teaching, whose further status is that of salaried and voting members of the faculty of the school.
 - (4) *Technical training courses*, to provide the skill which a practitioner must possess, consisting chiefly of intensive field work centrally supervised and directed by one or more social workers eligible to senior membership in the American Association of Social Workers, with adequate academic qualifications for teaching, whose further status is that of salaried (at least half-time) and voting members of the faculty of the school:
- C. An administrator or director chosen or appointed as the executive head of the school, who is empowered, in co-operation with the faculty of the school, to exercise control over admission requirements, curriculum, credit basis for class-room and field work, and admission requirements to courses of instruction.
 3. Professional education for medical social service, psychiatric social work, probation work, visiting teaching and other specialized forms of social case work, requires the co-operation of allied professions and the utilization of the resources of hospital, dispensary, court, school and other social agencies. Careful planning and close supervision is necessary to make these working relationships effective educationally. Without pre-professional requirements, unity and correlation in the curriculum and centralized administrative responsibility, it is impossible to provide adequately for the training of the prospective social worker.

SMITH COLLEGE:

Training School for Social Work.

EVERETT KIMBALL, Northampton, Mass.

For Psychiatric Social Workers, Child Welfare Workers, Visiting Teachers, Attendance Officers, Community Service Workers, Probation Officers, Family Case Workers, Medical Social Workers.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA:

School of Social Welfare

EMORY S. BOGARDUS, Los Angeles, California.

Courses in professional training for social work, correlated with field work, leading to a certificate and diploma, in social work; also to A.B. and A.M. degrees.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO:

Department of Social Service.

J. A. DALE, Toronto, Canada.

Two year course in Social Science and Practice, correlated with other facilities in university and city.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY:

School of Applied Social Science.

JAMES ELBERT CUTLER, Cleveland, Ohio.

A Graduate Professional School combining academic study and practical training under the direct supervision of the faculty.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN:

Courses in Social Case Work.

J. L. GILLIN, Madison, Wis.

Background courses in Economics, Sociology, Psychology Psychiatry, Dietetics, and Heredity. Training courses in Family Case Work, Publicity, Public speaking, Organization and Administration. 300 hours of supervised field work with families in an accredited family agency.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE JOURNAL

Woodrow Wilson and *Robert E. Lee* in one interpretation will be made available by the University of North Carolina Press in a handsome little blue cloth, gold stamped volume ready about the middle of March. It would be difficult to find a more appropriate setting for the contemplation of Mr. Wilson's life, work and ideals than in this sympathetic interpretation of the great Southerner of former years. The spirit of it is worthy of Mr. Wilson's memory and its contents will contribute something more to the long list of publications which stamp him the man of letters.

Professor *Charles A. Ellwood* is revising his "Social Psychology" and in his article in this number of *The JOURNAL*, the reader will find some of his latest presentations. Professor Ellwood, as president of the American Sociological Society, is already preparing the Christmas program. *Frederick A. Clow* reminds us to pronounce his name as in *slow* and not *plow*. Most readers will recall his pioneer work in educational sociology. *Malcolm M. Willey* and *Stuart A. Rice* of the Dartmouth faculty have done an excellent piece of work in this study of Mr. Bryan's visit to Dartmouth. *M. W. Heiss* is president of the Southern Textile Social Service Association and has been much concerned to see that the situation with reference to southern mill villages be presented from all viewpoints. He does not agree with Frank Tannenbaum. *Jeannette Paddock Nichols* writes from a year's special investigation, along side her work in teaching in a Southern college for women. She has recently published an excellent volume on Alaska. *George B. Logan* is librarian and investigator in the School of Education at the University of North Carolina. He has another article to appear soon entitled "The Use of Liberty." *Harry Elmer Barnes* writes with his usual vigor, cutting into historical references deep, right and left, before and aft. The "Library and Workshop" in this issue begins to show what he and *Frank Hamilton Hankins* will

present to readers of *The JOURNAL* in the rare fact of really satisfying book reviews. *Arnold Bennett Hall* is professor in the University of Wisconsin and secretary of the National Conference on the Science of Politics. *Robert W. Kelso*, *Richard Conant*, *Herbert Parsons*, and *Sanford Bates* compose a great Massachusetts quartette, not only in a radio debate, but in the work of social agencies, public welfare, probation and juvenile courts. *R. K. Atkinson* writes from experience with the Russell Sage Foundation. *Stuart A. Queen* is another professor who is president of the state (Kansas) conference for social work. *Jesse F. Steiner* and *F. Stuart Chapin* are constantly aiding and abetting the cause of training for social work, through the presentation of sound theory and descriptive material. And they have more to come. *J. J. Murray* has been interested for sometime in the study of religion as a social force, from his work in the Y. M. C. A. at Wilmington, N. C. *Guy B. Johnson*, Professor of Sociology in Baylor College, will be remembered as the author of the analytical study of the Ku Klux Klan in the May *JOURNAL*. *Thomas L. Harris* is Professor of Sociology in the University of West Virginia. *E. C. Branson* is returning from Europe this month. The series of articles by *R. D. McKensie* will be reprinted and make a very usable and valuable little monograph. *Chas. B. Mangold* is head of the Missouri School of Social Economy. His revised "Child Problems" seems to have lost none of its popularity. *Mary O. Cowper* is secretary of the North Carolina League of Women Voters. *J. G. deR. Hamilton* is Kenan Professor of History and Government in the University of North Carolina.

In the May *JOURNAL* Professor *Giddings* will continue his series on "The Scientific Study of Society" and Professor *Ross* will begin his series on "Roads to Social Peace."

And there will be the usual other strong features.